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MORALE

THE SUPREME STANDARD OF LIFE AND CONDUCT

BY

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PREFACE

The first draft of nearly half this present volume was printed in the Psychological Bulletin (Vol. XV, No. 11). This part was somewhat radically revised, and the substance of the volume as it now stands was given in weekly lectures in Clark University during the year 1918-19.

I hope that this concise survey of these very diverse fields may be considered as a plea for a new and more inclusive standard of the evaluation of not only individuals but of human organizations, and I would fain hope it may be worthy of a place as a textbook in some of our higher institutions of learning, perhaps in place of the types of ethics now in use. Our ideals of conscience, honor, and morals generally have not accomplished all we have hoped for. Why not try the standard of Morale here suggested as more fitting for the conditions of modern life?

I have been much aided in this work by the Librarian of the University, Dr. Louis N. Wilson, who has collected for our Library some 7,700 books and pamphlets on the war, besides 2,200 not yet catalogued, 312 serials which are not complete, 253

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maps, 6,200 posters, and 3,400 pictures. I am also indebted to Miss Helen G. Elliot, who has this collection in charge; and last but not least to my secretary, Miss Mary M. McLoughlin, who has typed and read the proof of the entire volume and has otherwise been of great service.

G. STANLEY HALL

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MORALE

THE SUPREME STANDARD OF LIFE AND CONDUCT

CHAPTER I

MORALE AS A SUPREME STANDARD

Comparison of morale as the modern standard with the standards of (I) Conscience, (II) Honor, and (III) the Superman.

Is there any chief end of man, any goal or destiny supreme over all others? If so, and if found, we shall have in the degree of approximation to it the best of all scales on which to measure real progress in terms of which all human values are best stated and defined. I answer that there is such a goal and that it took the awful psychic earthquake of war to reveal it in its true perspective and to show us its real scope. It is simply this—to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition. This super-hygiene is best designated as Morale. It implies the maximum of vitality, life abounding, getting and keeping in the very center of the current of creative evolution; and minimizing, destroying, or avoiding all checks, arrests, and inhibitions to it. This mysterious developmental urge, entelechy, will-to-live, *élan vital, horme, libido,* nisus, or by whatever name it be called, which made all the ascending orders of life and in Mansoul itself evolved mind, society, language, myths, industry, gods, religion—in short all human institutions, and lastly science, is in some strong, in others

weak, and in the same individual it is now high, now low; but its presence makes, and its absence destroys morale. The story of the retardations and advancements of this great energy in the cosmos constitutes every kind of real history. It is the only truly divine power that ever was or will be. Hence it follows that morale thus conceived is the one and only true religion of the present and the future, and its doctrines are the only true theology. Every individual situation and institution, every race, nation, class, or group, is best graded as ascendant or decadent by its morale, hard to guage as this most imponderable, vital, and fluctuating of all spiritual qualities is. It is exquisitely sensitive to temperature, climate, health, rest or fatigue, knowledge, tradition, and every social influence. If God be conceived as immanent, as thus implied, and not as *ab extra* and transcendent, which is idolatry, we might define morale in terms of the Westminster divines as glorifying God; while the other half of this famous definition of man's chief end, "and enjoy Him forever," is simply transcendental selfishness. True morale is never motivated by the expectation of pay or pain in another world.

I. *Morality and conscience.* How, then, does morale differ from morality? I answer it recognizes and does justice to the unconscious and instinctive impulsions to virtue, as the Stoic-Christian ethics of conscience does not. Seneca's *Mens sibi conscia recti* could make the good man happy in poverty, disgrace, and even when tortured to death as a martyr; while the

tyrant, though rich and honored by all, was in his heart miserable because he lacked this inner sense of right. Kant's conception of duty as sublime as the starry heavens and as purged of every vestige of hedonism, as making behavior conform to the principles of universal law-giving, subjecting every issue to the acid test of asking what if everybody should do so—these were indeed sublime ideas. So, too, is toleration, although it is very hard indeed unless belief is already cankered by doubt.

These lofty conceptions, however, are only a part of morale. Conscience is the very acme of self-consciousness. It involves deliberation and excludes most of those energies of the soul that are *bewusstseinsunfähig* or which cannot get into the narrow field of consciousness. The case of conscience must be submitted to an inner oracle, but the brief which consciousness submits can never contain all the data. Hence comes casuistry and every kind of perversion, *e. g.,* the conscientious objector. The sins done in the name of conscience are many and great; hence codes and laws are necessary.

The prizes offered for years by the French government to boys in the *Lycée* for the best essays on moral themes were so often won by the worst boys, who could best praise the very virtues they most violated, that they were finally abandoned because it was realized that these lads were partly camouflaging their faults and developing hypocrisy; in other words, the kind of morality thus secured was against the inter-

ests of true morale. It was at best a kind of flirtation with the cardinal virtues. Over-conscientiousness tends to a kind of moral Fletcherism or excessive mastication or rumination of motives. It has led to all the contorted scrupulosities of the New England conscience. This moral invalidism is often interesting, perhaps pathetic and even tragic in its issue. It keeps good resolutions playing over the surfaces of the soul, which is enervated if they are not enforced.

Several decades ago the French began collecting instances of conspicuous virtue and now have a score or two of school texts which they have gathered not merely from incidents recorded in the daily press but from their history and literature, and these instances of heroism, these golden deeds, are set forth for the inspiration of the young. Altogether they constitute most interesting and profitable data from which the most obvious inference is that in most of these cases a sudden crisis was sprung and the deed was done quite without reflection or any kind of moral or other consciousness, because the morale of the doer was already high or rose suddenly to the emergency. There was no time for conscience to act or for temptation but only a sudden realization of an instinct latent in all of us which points true as the compass to the pole to the highest goal of the individual and of the race, viz., the gregarious or social instinct, which has such countless modes of expression.

Years ago a rich church-lady fell from a Brooklyn ferry-boat and was saved by a rough English tar who,

seeing her fall, plunged in and saved her by clinging to a cake of floating ice. With some difficulty the man was found and brought to a church-vestry meeting, eulogized, congratulated, given a purse, and a medal was pinned on his jacket; and finally, despite his intense aversion, he was almost dragged to the front and made to tell about the act. About all he could say was that the boat gave a lurch, she pitched into the water, and he of course hopped in, only doing his duty as anyone would do. But he added "I ain't no hero, and if I'd a' supposed you'd a' thought a common fellow like me was tryin' to do a big thing and would a' made such a fuss about it, I'd a' let the d—— old woman drown." He got away from the church as soon as he could, and the next morning found him in a police court for drunkenness and disorder. Money and medal were gone, and fame knew him no more. In this case we have a deed prompted by high morale which was probably weakened by being made conscious.

If we always did right, we should no more know that we had a conscience than the well man knows he has a stomach, heart, or nerves. To be conscious of conscience means that evil has found entrance and that if we now do right, we do so only with a majority of our faculties and not unanimously with them all. Very much good is done in this way, to be sure, but it is not virtue of the purest order but of a secondary quality. Virginal purity never debates or parleys, for to deliberate is too often to be lost. The teachable

morality of our texts of ethics is of a lower order than the intuitive or automatic. The world needs it badly enough but it is essentially remedial. It is not so much primordial innocence as moral convalescence. Hence it is not better to have sinned and be saved than never to have sinned at all. The old sailor felt that to be made conscious of his good deed brought deterioration of its quality. If the best of us have erred, every one of the worst of us has, like him, some traits of pristine, unfallen, spontaneous goodness. Even though our moral instinct is not strong enough to keep us always right; even though we are not like the child who may touch fire, or the chick that may peck at its excrements once but never again; even though we may have become acutely conscious of wrong in us to extirpate it, the essential thing is that there is the latent impulse back of and prompting all the conscious phenomena and that we do not find it in any school of current ethics. Although conscience can and will yet do very much in the world, it is no longer the supreme oracle it once was thought to be.

II. *Honor.* In this twilight of conscience the guide most would now turn to is honor, which is a very different sentiment. A slur upon it makes the most cowardly boy fight, the most unabashed girl blush and weep, and the dread of the loss of it impels men to face death in almost any form. Life is a paltry thing if it must be lived in dishonor. Like conscience, it is very subject to perversions and may become capricious and fantastic. Indeed it may be but a

crabbed and shriveled remnant of what it once was, but it is never absent even among thieves, prostitutes, and beggars. If it is threatened, the Japanese knight trained in the chivalric code of bushido seeks death by hara-kiri. What would any modern social group think of a man who would not defend his lady escort against brutality even though he risked his life to do so? In the medieval courts of love and under the lofty ideals of King Arthur and the Round Table and the Grail, honor was discussed, idealized, defined, and codified. It was defined as living and acting as if noble ladies were always looking on. A German pamphlet tells us that under the dueling code of the corps a member may be declared dishonorable on any one of sixty-three points, for offense against each of which he must win back his honor on the *Mensur*. It is sought in badges, titles, and decorations. True, it is of pagan origin and our academic moralists give it scant recognition, but it must be reinstalled and reinterpreted. Aristotle thought it embodied in his ideal of the "magnanimous man," dignified in mien, slow of speech and movement, unerring in judgment, and in conflict always able to find a higher way out. Thus it is older than Christianity, and its ideals perhaps on the whole are somewhat more akin to those of the superman than they are to those of Christianity, but the true gentleman can pity even those whom he may feel that selection ought to exterminate. The man of honor despises all dignity and praise not based on genuine intrinsic merits. At his best he is marked in

all his ways by a distinction so natural that it seems innate, and his friendship, wherever he bestows it, is an honorary degree. True, it is a military virtue perhaps rather more than one of peace. At its best it prompts one to ask in every emergency what is the ideal course to pursue, the highest, purest, most disinterested motive to act from, the loftiest and not the most expedient solution. The man of honor would choose to be refuted by merely specious arguments rather than to use them and win out.

Dishonor is to succeed in anything, great or small, by trick or subterfuge. Honor is to do right, but not because it would be embarrassing to be found out wrong. It cannot accept secret rebates, adulterate or partake in corporate practices that as individuals one would shrink from. It cannot be silent in view of imposition and outrage when exposure would put them both to flight. Those who do this cannot be called gentlemen. Shall we go farther and say that it is dishonorable to accept from any source a dollar that one has not earned by a real service? Honor's true knight will keep a personal conscience that neither party allegiance nor popular clamor can silence. His maxim will not be the craven one of "Make no enemies whatever befalls," but "Make all the enemies of truth, right, justice, and decency between man and man in your community your own."

This spirit is akin to that of true sportsmanship. Many remember the critical moment in an International Tennis Championship game before the war

when the representative of this country made a fluke which would have lost us the championship had not the English champion purposefully made exactly the same fluke because he did not deem it honorable to win on an accident. It is by no means true that this spirit animates all our great games in this country, for there are still too many secret practices, tricks, and unfair advantages to make these games ideal schools of honor. There is hardly any amusement, even those most tabooed, which might not be permitted if it could only be made a school of honor pure and undefiled, and not of the dishonor which seeks to win at any price. Its standard of life is single, not double. It keeps the spirit as well as the letter of the professional codes. It is to the inner all that the best manners and style are to the outer life. It is the best bond and boon of friendship, another of the forgotten pagan virtues which in its classical sense of Aristotle and Cicero can live again only in its atmosphere. Indeed honor is capable of being construed as almost the whole of the inner vocation of man. It is more elastic than conscience. In the days of the French Commune a captain was seized on a baseless pretext and trundled in a tumbrel to the guillotine. His young wife, in tears and agony, catching sight of him, tried to press through the crowds to stand by his side. Seeing her, he shouted, "Take her away; I do not know and never saw her," because he knew that recognition would involve her in his doom. Was this love, or honor, or both? Together they most certainly make

the most precious metal that human life can produce.

In fine, we must not forget that the noblest function of honor is to regulate love for and duties to posterity, for all the issues of future generations are now committed to the honor of young men and young women. Its distinction is to preside over the race; to keep love high, pure, and wedded to religion, for each alone can keep the other pure; and to be for every age the present representative of that great cloud of witnesses who, in the long perspective of future generations, will throng the earth when we are gone, and compared to which the fifteen hundred million people alive to-day are but a handful. Honor should be thus the native breath and vital air of the true lady and gentleman, and in putting its cult for a time in the place so long occupied by that of conscience, a great gain will ensue.

III. *The superman.*—Nietzsche has best formulated this ideal, which has inspirations for many in our day all its own. The conception of the superman claims to be a corollary of Darwin's struggle to survive and win the largest "place in the sun." In the long struggle of evolution the fittest have always won out and the unfit or less fit have always died out. Progress all the way from the amoeba to man has been marked by the death of laggards or backsliders who failed in the competition. Hence for the superman pity means degeneration of the world and degradation for him. Jesus was the arch plotter against the advancement of the race by teaching tenderness to weaklings. He

thus indefinitely retarded the progress of humanity and in fact was Himself a pitiful degenerate, whom we must nevertheless not pity but whom we may imprecate and curse. If Russia to-day illustrates the effects of the diametrically opposite interpretation of evolution, so far as society goes, as altruism and mutual help under the stress of the herd instinct (Kropotkin and his adherents), the very soul of Germany, on the other hand, especially its militarism, was no less saturated by the gospel of Nietzsche, as is set forth by her military writers from Clausewitz to Bernhardi and illustrated by the deliberate policy of frightfulness and atrocities.

The superman breaks the old tables of morality for he is above the current conceptions of right and wrong, good and evil, which civilized communities have so long sanctioned. He despises much in the old codes of honor that used to protect the weak and defenseless and that would inculcate in the modern soldier the spirit of good sportsmanship and make him adhere to the rules of the game even in grim and grueling war. Everything that weakens the enemy—devastation, sabotage, poisoning the air (if not sometimes the very water and food with morbific germs), ruthlessness to non-combatants, terrorism, etc., is allowable to the superman and the super-state or super-race. The true disciple of Zarathustra must not only be great and superior but must know and show it by every token. He must not and cannot be really beaten or overcome even by defeat. His in-

eluctable pride is based on the conviction that he is a "link" or "bridge," the hope of the world, the key to the higher breed of men that will rule the world after our stage of development is forgotten.

"If we fail, civilization fails with us," for most of the great men of the world have had Teutonic blood (Chamberlain). One savant has lately told us (what would make Nietzsche turn in his grave) that the *Jes* or the first syllable of the name of Jesus is (by the application of certain new provisions and the elimination of at least one old one in the famous Grimm laws of phonic change) or originally was *Ger,* and the *us* or last syllable in His name is simply the masculine termination, so that "Jesus" is etymologically "the German." The superman is generally conceived as harsh and far above being a mere gentleman. His quality is something woman can worship but can never attain, for there never was or can be a superwoman.

A century ago Germany was humanistic, but since that time, and especially since the War of 1870, her culture transformed itself into *Kultur,* so that practical efficiency is now her ideal, and this is the cult of the superman. Fichte made a stirring appeal to his fellow-countrymen when their armies were shattered by Napoleon, their resources exhausted, and their very morale so near collapse that apparently but for him it would have broken, to remember that they still had strong bodies, a pure tongue, a literature and philosophy among the best of the world, and that they

could only rehabilitate themselves as a state or nation by trusting and utilizing to their uttermost all that education and moral energy can do to make them the center of the world's culture. They listened to him as they had done to no one since Luther, and according to his scheme and inspired by him, the University of Berlin was established and education made the chief concern of statesmanship, so that the regeneration of this country in a century makes one of the most brilliant chapters of history. Since that great day Germany has undergone a change of ideals which is nothing less than revolutionary, for she has turned her back upon the spirit that made her own renaissance. She was well on the way toward the realization of Fichte's ideals. Her science was preëminent, and advanced students of all lands flocked to her to learn the latest and best in their departments. Her industrial technic led the world, and she was in a fair way to become a kind of new theocracy of science and culture. Her methods, her systematization, her modes of dealing with many social problems, her products, her trade, were all advancing at an ever accelerating rate.

Just when these lines of development were most open and her progress most rapid, she gradually fell under the malign spell of the demon of power. She could not wait for the gradual and natural conquest of mankind by peaceful methods, but after succeeding in doing what no great race or nation in history had ever done before, viz., in fusing the new rich class,

which had grown so strong, with the old feudal nobility (which had survived over from the Middle Ages there as nowhere else since Germany never had a revolution), she acquired a sense of power which made her an easy victim to the spell of militarism. Thus she threw the sword into the scale already tipping in her favor without it, and so upset the equilibrium of the world. She not only thus ceased to rule it by normal methods but checked all the slower but surer spiritual influences by which she was legitimately advancing towards supremacy. Her fall was thus due to the delusion that the fittest was the strongest, and by this ghastly error, which all the great Germans of two generations ago would have abhorred, she has not only set back the progress of the world but has for a long time to come handicapped her own legitimate influences. Will a new Fichte arise now to tell the Germans the painful truth and set them back again on the true path of what every intelligent and impartial observer outside, whose mind was uncorroded by pride and ambition, saw so clearly to be the way her destiny was leading her?

But the ideal of the superman is not all mere paresis or delusions of greatness but has ingredients which the world and its morale want, recognize, and cannot afford to lose. Hegel said "Man cannot think too highly of himself as man," but this is true in a far different sense than he meant it, for man can now read his title clear to an ancient pedigree that goes far back of recorded history, back to the amphioxus

and even the protozoa. He has won out and thus proved his stirps best fitted to survive. Even though anthropologists now tell us that civilized is by no means so superior to savage man as we have thought, there is at any rate a vast difference between the best and even the second-best individuals, and to excel others as well as our own past selves is one of the strongest and noblest springs of true ambition. No leveling Bolshevism can ever efface the true aristocracy of native gifts or even of individual attainments. Men are and should strive to be equal in nothing save in opportunity. There will always be some whose services to the community and the world will be worth hundreds and even thousands as much as others, and originators, pioneers, geniuses, leaders, and experts will always deserve and get more of the rewards of life than those whose services are worth less to mankind. Indeed almost all can excel in something, and that something it is the business of not only vocational guidance but of home, school, and every other agency that can be utilized for that end to find out. If everyone were always doing his best thing, the world would leap forward, and there would be vastly more just and saving self-respect in all of us; while nothing so cankers as the realization of the danger of failing because there is no opportunity to do our best.

But the real superman, like the moralist, is too self-conscious. The best man in the world who knows himself to be such is already spoiled by that knowledge. Even Socrates was the wisest of men only be-

cause he was most conscious of his ignorance, and the real overman, if praised by others as he thinks he deserves, becomes insufferable. The Teutonic *Uebermensch* in life and in the voluminous literature in which he has lately appeared is always a supreme egoist, a victim of conscious hyperindividuation, sometimes not without a taint of Narcissism. But there ought always and everywhere to be a conception of the higher ideal man and a belief that he will sometime appear. When he does come, he will be very different from the Teutonic ideal. He will merge and perhaps efface himself in his cause or task; although greatest, he will be content to be thought least; he will be vastly more naïve than self-conscious, and will place the good of others before that of himself.

IV. *Morale.*—The above three ideals of life and conduct do not suffice to meet the needs of the new era which is upon us, and the purpose of this book is to suggest a fourth, the realization of which in its true perspective was one of the very best results of the war and which should now be made a new oracle in this period of reconstruction.

Morale, while not entirely definable, is best characterized as the cult of condition. It includes many of the best of the maxims of the other three standards, but adds a new factor of its own which gives the old ones a higher unity and greatly enhances their energy. Psychophysic condition is the most important factor in any and every kind of success. Men slump morally, financially, in their creeds, and even into ill-health

because they lose condition. In a way this has always been recognized, for the oldest and most universal form of greeting is "How are you feeling?" and "I hope you are well"—are the tides of life running high or low to-day—as if this was a thing of prime concern. When we awake after a sound and refreshing sleep with every organ in tune and at concert pitch, and thank whatever gods we believe in that we are alive, well, young, strong, buoyant, and exuberant, with animal spirits at the top-notch; when we are full of joy that the world is so beautiful, that we can love our dear ones, and can throw ourselves into our work with zest and abandon because we like it; when our problems seem not insoluble and the obstacles in our path not insuperable; when we feel that our enemies are either beaten or placated; in a word, when we face reality gladly and with a stout heart even if it is grim and painful, and never doubt that it is good at the core and all evil is subordinate to good, that even if we are defeated and overwhelmed in a good cause all is not lost; when we feel that we live for something that we would die for if need be—this is Morale.

Morale is thus health. It means wholeness or holiness, the flower of every kind of hygiene. It is the state in which the whole momentum of evolution is at its best and strongest in us. It is found wherever the universal hunger for more life is best getting its fill. The great religious, especially the Christian founders who strove to realize the kingdom of God, that is, of man here and now, are perhaps the

world's very best illustrations of high morale. It is the race seeking expression in the individual, or in the antique phrases of theology it is God coming to consciousness in man. In an athletic team and its members it is conscientious training beforehand, and in the crisis it is struggling with abandon, throwing everything we have, are, and can do into the game up to the last moment for the sake of the team, the college, and the city each player represents. Morale is a state and partly a diathesis. Its only code is that of personal and social hygiene. It is perpetual and general preparedness to act more efficiently in every emergency as it presents itself, where often to deliberate means to lose an occasion. It not only faces opportunities as they come but sallies forth to meet and even to make them.

Morale is the very soul of the soldier. It makes an army as keen for attack as valiant in defense. It is bold and even enterprising to say to any and every opportunity "I can;" but it does not stop here but adds "I will." Nor does it stop here, because for it the sad chasm between knowing and even willing and doing is completely bridged, so that the man of morale "does it now."

Again, morale not only permits but often sanctions many things which the old codes of morals, honor, and superhumanity forbid, for, like conscience, these may make cowards of us all. Morale serves us right when we have to do a lesser wrong, as everybody very often has to do, for the sake of a greater good. It may feel

itself so "fixed in truth that it can play with gracious lies." It may be cruel in order to be kind, break the letter of laws to keep their spirit, defy old and warped ideas of honor in the interests of the new and higher interpretations of life. It is ever mindful not only of new occasions but of the new duties they teach and also of the old ones that they often abolish. Just as the doctor finds in every new case new complications, so that the symptom complexes of his patient are never exactly found in any medical textbook; and just as the lawyer, especially under the new method of case study, finds with his every client circumstances for which he seeks in vain for prescriptions in any *corpus juris;* as in both these and all professions and vocations there are new factors that throw us back upon our original resources, so all the exigencies of life, to be adequately met, demand incessant preparedness in the form of high psychophysic tone. All the rest is mechanism and routine but this is a glint of creative evolution. The soldier may be trained what to do in the mélée, how to shoot from the hip without aiming, how to stab and withdraw his bayonet, how to club, trip, hit, jiu-jitsu, gouge, and strike for sensitive parts, and all this is a great help; but in a mortal scrimmage of man against man, where each is beyond the control of officers and is thrown upon his own personal resources for initiative—here it is that condition wins and the lack of it means death. Here the soldier fights with all that he ever was or did; indeed with all that his ancestors ever were and did. Here,

other things being anywhere nearly equal, it is morale that decides. Only high morale, too, can make the fighters in an army good losers. The no less cardinal trait of morale is thus how it takes defeat and retreat, and especially how it bears up under long bombardments or how much shelling can be endured without succumbing to shell-shock. Here the only salvation is in the alleviation of grim, passive endurance, which only condition can supply, for it alone makes diversion, physical and mental, possible and effective, and it is it also that makes of this long and inactive exposure to danger a method of steeling the will and resolve to fight the harder when the time for it comes.

Thus my book is a plea for nothing less than a new criterion of all human worths and values. I would have the home, the state, the church, literature, science, industry, and every human institution, not excluding religion, and perhaps it most, rejudged and revaluated by the standard of what they contribute to individual, industrial, and social morale. This would give us a new scale on which to measure real progress or regression.

The war itself was the bankruptcy of the old criteria. Right and wrong, honor, and superhumanity as we had interpreted them, led us astray. We trusted these old oracles too long and too implicitly. Their voices had become raucous with age and indeed they rarely spoke at all. They have now completely failed us, and we have paid and shall long continue to pay the penalty of our deafness. The world war was

simply the collapse of the world morale. It was not merely that Germany lost her old soul and the new one she put in its place proved a demon, but the other countries lost their vital touch upon present reality; and this for many reasons, partly because it had become too vast and complicated for any save a few seers, who were thought to be Cassandras, squarely to envisage. Henceforth, those states and those leaders who do not know, cannot face and base their conduct upon the larger cosmic aspects of the world will be cowards taking flight from reality, perhaps to a Narcissistic absorption in jingoism or chauvinism. As never before, each vital racial or national factor in history must get into and keep in close *rapport* with all the rest, for the synthesis especially of the great peoples of the earth is to be henceforth far closer. The day of each for itself is passed. So there must be a new international consciousness and, what is far more important, a new instinct feeling of solidarity. Few, indeed, of the leaders of the old ante-bellum dispensation can become our guides in the new age that is now dawning. Hence we must train new ones, and just in proportion as we cannot see our way clearly ahead, keep ourselves at the acme of alertness for each next step as the way opens.

CHAPTER II

MORALE, PATRIOTISM, AND HEALTH

Our present problem of morale in general and especially in this country—Its peculiar difficulties here—Its relations to health.

One of the best culture results of the war has been to make all intelligent people think and talk much about morale. There is already an interesting, valuable, and rapidly growing literature about it.[1] Now that the war is over, the interest which was growing so rapidly in army morale is being transferred to civil life, and we are coming into a new appreciation of its value and meaning in that domain, and are hearing of personal, family, community, city, party, business, institutional, national morale, etc. Thus the war has given us a new sense of the value of this intangible, spiritual virtue which, in a word, means manliness. There is a sense in which the army, like all other human institutions, is a state of mind. Its morale is its soul (*Mens agitat molem*), without which masses of men and munitions make only a blind titan Polyphemus.

What is the popular conception of morale? No two ideas of it are alike. It can no more be defined than energy, or life, or soul. All we can do is to try to describe, to feel, and to guide it. We can already see

[1] See descriptive bibliography at the end of this book.

that it has very deep roots; its ultimate source is nothing less than the great evolutionary urge itself. Of this it is, as we are now conceiving it, about the latest and highest product. It bottoms, as we have seen, on nothing less than the evolutionary nisus itself. As Carruth said, "Some call it evolution, and others call it God." When and where it is strongest it makes the individual feel "fit" for any task. It also gives him a sense of solidarity with his comrades seeking the same end, and enables him either to do or to suffer in a common cause. To some extent it ebbs and flows by causes within which we cannot control or even fully understand. Yet to a great extent it can, like condition in an athlete, be trained for and cultivated. To do this latter for morale in every field is one of the great demands which modern civilization is now laying upon itself, in far greater degree than ever before. For this reason it is of fundamental importance for those who would fully enter into the life of the dawning post-bellum epoch very carefully to weigh its importance and learn all that can be taught, and to seek from every source all the practical insight available to keep it at its best in ourselves, in those nearest to us, and in every institution with which we are connected. All, especially every young man and woman, wish to be, to do something in the world that is worth while. In proportion to the momentum of life which they inherit they feel the impulse of the youth in Longfellow's "Excelsior" to climb ever higher, to gain influence, power, and possession, to

overcome obstacles, and to make the most and best of themselves. This vital energy keeps up a constant pressure upon reality about them to subdue it and mold it to their will, as man has always sought to dominate Nature and Circumstance. In terms of psychanalysis morale ought to be highest when we are hardest up against reality in the Here and Now, for when it is best and most aggressive it not only faces rather than flees from reality but tends to construe and realize every goal of the race here and now so intensely that the past and the future grow a little pale for the time.

But when morale sags or fails of attaining this goal, then the tide ebbs and the individual turns away from reality, perhaps loses himself in memories or dreams of the future, loses heart and courage, and becomes a coward to life. He is unable to face the Here and Now, evades, and becomes a slacker, and if this abandonment of the life impulse goes too far it may bring him face to face with suicide, which is the acme of recreancy. Thus there is a sense in which life is everywhere and always a battle, in which the presence or absence of morale determines success or failure, for there is always repression to be overcome.

Let us first, then, consider morale in war, and then attempt to apply some of its lessons to the conditions of peace.

Perhaps the most salient instance in all history of the collapse of morale on a large scale is found in the Russian debacle of 1917. A nation of 180,000,000,

with an army of nearly 20,000,000 sturdy, fighting men, lost its morale, abandoned the field to the enemy, and in its disintegration tore down the most autocratic régime in Europe and from the extreme of imperialism swung over to the opposite extreme of Bolshevism. It will be one of the most complex and fascinating problems of the psychology of the future to analyze and explain this unprecedented metamorphosis, but there is no better single phrase that can now describe it than to say that the Russian morale went into bankruptcy.

On the other hand, history perhaps presents no such salient example of both the power and the persistence of morale as the way in which the Belgians and the other Allies endured the shock of the onset of war and the series of overwhelming calamities and defeats of its first three and one-half years. England lost her general-in-chief in whom her hopes centered, had to raise an army of a size and with a speed utterly unprecedented in her history, and had a narrow escape from crushing defeat at the Marne. Neither the army nor the people of Belgium lost heart, although overwhelmed and plundered and outraged by the enemy to a degree unknown hitherto. Italy, with her high hopes and early victories, saw her armies rolled up almost to the gates of Venice. The campaign against Constantinople had to be ingloriously abandoned. The French for years saw the enemy raping towns and moving steadily toward Paris, threatening to divide them from their English ally by driving the latter

into the sea. Then there were the great surprises of technique sprung by the Germans—Zeppelins, submarines, poison gas, Flammenwerfer, and systematic atrocities, aimed in fact chiefly at morale, which through all these disasters, however, never faltered, but after long years of trial came back with a glorious and complete victory. Of all the nations probably France, when everything is cleared up, will be seen to have shown the most superb morale, because *la patrie* seems, especially since the end of the Concordat, to have taken the place held by the Church in its palmiest days, and the extraordinary religious revival[2] that had swept over the country just before the outbreak of the war was, when it is psychologically understood, perhaps the most important of all the factors that made up the French morale.

I. *Difficulties of maintaining morale in this country.*—In this country we had peculiar difficulties in maintaining ideal morale, both as we entered the war and in the training camps and later at the front.

[2] For a brief but brilliant review of this revival see Albert Schinz: *The Renewal of French Thought on the Eve of the War.* Am. Jour. Psy. XXVIII., 297-313, June, 1913. Among the very many literary expressions of this religious trend in France just before the war we might mention the *Voyage du Centurion,* by E. Psichari (the grandson of Renan, who was killed at the head of his artillery battery). The centurion of the New Testament was a Roman officer who came to Jesus believing He could heal at a distance. Jesus was so impressed by his faith that, although the man was a Gentile, He healed his son and at a distance, which he never did for any Jew. This shows how Jesus regarded the soldier. The conversion of Juliette Adam; the voluminous literature idealizing Jeanne d'Arc; the new editions of Calvin and the *Life of St. Augustine* are other examples of what was almost a renaissance of the religious spirit in France, seen, too, in so many of the memoirs of its young soldiers and officers. The best illustrations of this spirit that have appeared in English are Donald W. Hankey's *A Student in Arms* and Coningsby Dawson's *Carry On.*

Here, as elsewhere, every day's censored report assured us that the morale of the troops of all the Allies was excellent, and this very iteration betrayed a deep, though half unconscious fear that it might break and thus bring the most dire disasters. That it must and should not break ("They shall not pass") was our deepest resolve, and hence we sometimes became intolerant in insisting that nothing be said or done anywhere that could lower morale, either at home or at the front. This was the motive of censorship, and of certain restrictions upon our former freedom of speech and press.

There were also individual difficulties of maintaining morale in this country. Stimulus implies reaction, but in the new conditions of trench warfare men often had to remain passive and not yield even to the impulse to escape. This generated no end of tension, and made them very susceptible to shell shock, which rarely comes to men in action. The bombardments preliminary to an attack were directed chiefly against the enemy's morale. Every kind of activity, mental or physical, within the trenches while under fire safeguards morale. Quiescence under stimuli is very dangerous, and any activation helps.

Gassing, too, is very hard on morale. The possibility of being smothered like a rat in a hole, and the fighting with gas-masks, which lessen respiration and interrupt communication, are intense strains on fortitude and bring a new danger of demoralization. Many people have an instinctive horror of all closed

spaces (claustrophobia), possibly inherited from our cave-dwelling ancestors, and men of a respiratory type, whose morale is unusually dependent upon atmospheric conditions, are in special danger.

We were not, like the Belgians, French, and Italians, fighting on our own soil or defending it from the prospect of invasion, and thus we lacked the motive of desperation. Our wives and daughters were not outraged; neither were our goods pillaged, our industries destroyed, our capital raided by airplanes or fired at by "Big Berthas;" our soldiers could have no home leave to "blighty;" and so our stake seemed even less than that of England. Thus to the average American soldier, his interest in the war was less personal and our country's interest was less material, all of which bears on morale.

We are less homogeneous racially, less unified by our history and national traditions than are the leading nations of Europe. Many of our soldiers were born abroad, as were the ancestors of all of us a few generations back. Scores of thousands of our soldiers knew little English, and about every race and nation of the world was represented in our recruits. It takes generations to weld heterogeneous people into unity. We have not even a convenient or unique name; the United States cannot be indicated by an adjective. (Some have suggested that we might take the occasion of the war, as Russia did to rename Petrograd, and henceforth call ourselves "Columbia," but I think "New Europe" would be a better and more timely

designation, just as New England was named for its mother country, for nearly all our inhabitants are practically New Europeans.) So, too, there are sectional differences, and we also suffer from hyperindividuation, which is more uncurbed here, even for corporations, by the interests of the public welfare. Hence enemy propaganda, with our large German population, had an unparalleled field for all its activities, and this is inimical to morale.

We lacked all military traditions and spirit. We had committed two mortal crimes against the God of Things As They Are, which, as history shows, he never allows to go unavenged. First, we were very rich, and secondly, we were very defenseless. The spirit of democracy and of militarism are in a sense diametrical opposites. Although 375,000 men enlisted, we had to deal chiefly with drafted men, taken from the free pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness to totally new conditions, where subordination and discipline are the prime necessities, and individual freedom and initiative are reduced to a minimum, with regimentation and prescription unlimited. We had to cultivate militarism most intensively in order to repress it in the world. We learned that liberty had to be defended by the same means as autocracy must be. We came to respect the military[5] system not only as per-

[5] L. C. Andrews: *Fundamentals of Military Service*, Phil., Lippincott, 1916: F. L. Huidekoper: *The Military Unpreparedness of the United States*, N. Y., MacMillan, 1915; W. A. Pew: *Making a Soldier*, Bost., Badger, 1917; L. H. Bailey: *Universal Service the Hope of Humanity*, N. Y., 1918; J. Peterson and Q. J. David: *The Psychology of Handling Men in the Army*. Minneapolis, The Perrin Book Co., 1919. See also the *German War Book*, tr. by J. H. Morgan, Lond., J. Murray, 1915.

haps the oldest of all human institutions but as the most important agency in welding individuals into true communities. Sheridan called discipline seventy-five per cent of efficiency. It is team-work which enables a squad to overcome a mob, which makes men out of "flabs," so that war, to say nothing of its moral equivalents, came as a new dispensation to us. To make a soldier out of the average free American citizen is thus not unlike domesticating a very wild species of animal. In subordinating individuals we should not, however, forget that the "kicker" is often the born fighter and needs only the right direction for his energies. All these obstacles to morale we more or less overcame.

Germany had its own unique morale. It had broken with its past, with the age of Kant and Goethe, with its culture of fifty or one hundred years before, almost as completely as Bolshevism had broken with the earlier aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionists in Russia, and yet both were usurpers claiming the prestige of a preceding stage. The Germans profoundly believed themselves to be the world apostles of *Kultur,* the true supermen called by their fate or genius to subject their neighbors and bring them to a higher stage of civilization. This conviction of superiority, which had grown so strong, coupled with an instinct for discipline and feudal subordination of rank to rank in a long series, was the essence of their morale which, it is our fond hope, has been overcome with the defeat of their armies.

II. *Morale and health.*—Health is one of the prime bases of morale. Health means wholeness or holiness. The modern hygienist asks: What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own health, or what shall a man give in exchange for his health? In recent years we have seen new and great attention to personal, school, public, municipal, and domestic hygiene, and since the regimen of the Japanese armies in that country's war with Russia showed its importance, and since the lack of it in our Cuban campaign was so disastrous, on all sides more stress was laid on sanitary conditions than in any other war.

The most universal greeting the world over consists in mutual inquiries about our health and perhaps even that of those nearest to us, as if all assume its cardinal importance. Now, real health is not merely keeping out of the doctor's hands but its cult aims at keeping each at the very tip-top of his condition so that he feels full of the joy of life (*euphoria*) and capable of doing or suffering anything if called to do so. Most of the world's work is done on a rather low hygienic level, but its great achievements, the culminating work of the leaders of our race, have been the product of exuberant, euphorious, and eureka moments, for a man's best things come to him when he is in his best state.

War, of course, needs intense physical energy, and the labor of drill and camp-work, which has toned up so many men of poor physique, has left a bequest to morale that ought to long outlive the war. To be

weak is to be miserable, and to be strong and well predisposes to true virtue. The muscles are nearly half the body-weight. They are the organs of the will, which has done everything man has accomplished, and if they are kept at concert pitch the chasm between knowing and doing, which is often so fatal, is in a measure closed. There is no better way of stengthening all that class of activities which we ascribe to the will than by cultivating muscle.

III. *Food conditions morale.*—It has always been known that starving troops could not fight. The French scientists[4] tell us that there is a particular type of man, in whom the digestive functions predominate, that is paralyzed more quickly than any other type by any deficiency in quality or quantity of food, and that these may more easily become heroic when defending their stores. Camp Greenleaf applied this principle by giving the rookies who came there fresh from their homes somewhat better food for two weeks than others got in order to make them more contented. In a sense man, like an animal, feels most at home when and where he feeds best, and if man really "fights on his stomach," then fighting on an empty stomach is proverbially hard. Recent studies in this field by the Pawlow school have shown us how fundamental

[4] This is one conclusion of the remarkable studies begun many years ago by Sigaud in the *Traité Clinique de la Digestion et du Régime Alimentarie* (Paris, Doin, 1900), developed by Thooris, Sturel, Chailliou, and best summarized in *Morphologie Médicale; Étude des quatre Types Humains* by A. J. M. Chaillou and Leon MacAuliffe. See also the more or less independent line of Italian research in Achille de Giovanni's *Clinical Commentaries Deduced from the Morphology of the Human Body* (Tr.), Lond., Rebman, 1909.

proper metabolism, normal appetite and food-taking are for mental states and processes, and have shown us also how appetite is the mainspring that impels all the processes of digestion down to the very Metchnikoff and Freudian end of the thirty-foot alimentary tube. Some still think that military life demands stimulants, although others hold that it is easier to dispense with them than in civil life. It does seem to be established by this war that smoking is a wholesome sedative to war strains, and certainly none but a fanatic hygienist would banish the "fag." Despite the needs in this department a soldier's life requires that he be able in emergency to endure more or less privation even here. Perhaps we may conclude that while proper and regular food is a very important constituent of morale, this can be maintained at a very high level and for a long time even under great deprivation.

Rest and sleep, of course, make a great difference. A tired army is far more liable to panic, and fear often takes cover behind exhaustion. Sleep builds up disintegrating cells, rejuvenates, and its very dreams are often a safety valve or catharsis for war strains generally and even for experiences and memories. Thus, too, the time of day has significance. Five-o'clock-in-the-morning courage (the hour when very many of the German attacks began) is a very different thing from that of nine or ten o'clock at night, and darkness and inclement weather are handicaps. Sleep seems to have something to do with finishing

the last and higher processes of digestion. While its importance is well appreciated, something of its psychology, and of the enormous function which the conditioned reflex is now known to play, ought to be taught in every officers' training school.

CHAPTER III

THE MORALE OF FEAR, DEATH, HATE, AND ANGER

I. Morale and the psychology of fear in war—The methods of its conquest—II. Morale and death—The various attitudes of different types of soldiers to death—Burials, graveyards, and monuments—Spiritism—III. Anger in life, in literature, and its place in the present war.

I. *The conquest of fear.*—From the first rumor of war and the draft on to the training-camp, to the trenches, and the charge, the chief feeling to be overcome in all men, perhaps in proportion to their intelligence and power of imagination, is fear. Cowardice is fear yielded to; bravery and courage are fear controlled. Fear is anticipatory pain, and mortal fear is of course the anticipation of death. Everyone has heard of heroes who condemned their limbs for trembling, their heart for throbbing, their alimentary tract for revolting, etc., but the brave man is he who learns to control all these physiological symptoms and to do what he ought to do in every emergency. Every symptom of fear is met with near the front and when battle impends. There is weakness, sometimes rising almost to paralysis; unsteadiness of movement; loss of appetite; perhaps nausea, indigestion; diarrhea is very common; flushing and pallor; and an instinct to cringe and dodge and show symptoms of shock at everything unexpected, often at the very

slightest surprise. In action many good men lose control of their muscles and become almost automata. Very few soldiers, indeed, can aim as well as on the rifle range, most shoot wildly, and some seem to lose control of the power of loading; while we are told by a number of high authorities that many fall by the way from sheer terror and that there are far more panics, local and even general, than find their way into history or even into official reports. Thus the efficiency of a fighting force depends more largely than hitherto realized upon the effectiveness of the methods of repressing or controlling the fear instinct. In the German experience solid formations, advancing elbow to elbow, give a sense of security that makes men face danger more easily than they could in wide-open formations.

A large part of discipline is directed more and more toward making this control effective. Just in proportion as obedience to orders becomes instinctive, so that their execution requires no thought; and just in proportion as shooting, bayonet drill, throwing grenades, and other activities of the combat are made second nature, the chance of their being done aright at the critical moment increases and the hazard of acting wildly is diminished. Facility in these processes that can thus be mechanized also gives a certain degree of confidence, and the soldier feels that if he does lose his head, his muscles and reflex system will take up the task of themselves and that thus his defensive and even his aggressive power will not be lost

in the direst emergency. This is one reason why drill must be incessant and long-continued, even though in trench warfare less direct use is made of it. Another reason is that where many men are doing the same thing together there arises a sense of solidarity, so that each depends not only on himself but on others, and the individual feels that he is supported by the formidableness of the group.

Where fear is yielded to with abandon almost anything may be done. Men lose their orientation in space and may rush directly at the enemy instead of fleeing from him. In panicky *fugues* men often tend to flee over the same course in which they have advanced, sometimes going around sharp angles instead of taking quicker cross-cuts to safety because they have advanced along these angles. They throw away their weapons, accoutrements, sometimes their clothes, and run for incredible distances, perhaps leaping into chasms, and are not infrequently subject to illusions and hallucinations. Fear is extremely infectious. Often the sight of a single frenzied fugitive disconcerts and may disorganize a squad of courageous men, so that it is very important to eliminate those especially liable to start panics. We are told that the sight of a single individual fleeing, with all the facial, vocal, and other expressions of terror, is more disquieting even to experienced troops than the death of those nearest them in the ranks or a very destructive fire of the enemy. We have a number of records of panic even among horses in battles, which

sometimes attends and even causes grave disasters.

At home, too, fear is an important ingredient in every form of slackerdom. It has made many conscientious objectors who never objected before but have extemporized a set of pacifist principles to camouflage their timidity. It is a large ingredient in the symptoms of disease even in somatic cases, and often has a real effect in retarding cure, not only of psychic but physical traumata, even in the most candid and honest men, so deep in the unconscious does it burrow. The same explosion may cause shell shock in the guards who are conducting prisoners back of the line and have no such effect upon the prisoners themselves, because they are free from responsibility and realize that they are out of the fighting; while the best statistics tell us that shell shock is from three to four times as common among officers, who must not only be brave but set examples to their men, as it is among privates. Many genuine cases of shell shock were cured with surprising suddenness by the news of the cessation of war.

This shows that we are all perhaps far more fearsome than we know, that the instinct of self-preservation is so strong that it percolates down through the unconscious regions of the soul and produces there results which are utterly inconsistent with courage, even in the bravest.

Almost every important event in the soldier's previous life has a bearing upon liability to or immunization from fear. On the one hand, if a man has been

used to taking large risks and hazards of any kind in civil life he has a predisposition to take this larger risk. Of course if he has had hairbreadth escapes from danger he may, according to his diathesis, either come to feel that he can safely play with fortune, that he has a good star and the fates favor him, or else he may acquire a special type of timidity, sometimes of the same and sometimes of other types of risks than those he has incurred. Again, even hereditary tendencies may make themselves felt. If for any cause one has inherited or even acquired a dread of closed spaces (claustrophobia), he finds the trench itself very trying, and this dread is greatly augmented under bombardment or by expectation of attack. It has been found, too, that those who had childish dreads of thunder storms find it harder to control their terror at the detonations of big guns and high explosives. Others have either innate or acquired horror of blood which perhaps, like all other predisposing causes, may be overcome, if not too intense, or may incapacitate. Those with dread of open spaces find it far harder to charge in very wide open order and prefer hills, trees, or even water to the dead plain across the "hell-strip" between the front lines.[1]

[1] See M. D. Eder: *War Shock: The Psychoneuroses in War Psychology and Treatment*, Lond., Heinemann, 1917; John T. MacCurdy: *War Neuroses*, Psychiatric Bulletinof the N. Y. State Hospital, No. 3, July, 1917; G. Elliot Smith and T. H. Pear: *War Shock: Its Lessons*, Manchester, Univ. Press, 1917; G. Rousay and J. Lhermitte: *The Psychoneuroses of the War*, Tr. Lond., Univ. Press, 1918; J. F. Babinski and J. Froment: *Hysteria or Pithiatism and Reflex Nervous Disorders in the Neurology of the War*, Tr. Lond., Univ. Press, 1918; F. W. Mott: *War Psychoneuroses*, Lond., 1919; W. T. Porter: *Shock at the Front*, Bost., Atlantic Mo., 1918; W. H. R.

In general, every soldier realizes that he is increasing his chance of death, and this sense is the key to some of the most interesting results which scientific psychology owes to the war. It is hard work and requires long practice to be truly brave. The most imperative of all instincts is the love of life, and deliberately to risk it involves severe nervous and mental strain. But the consensus of mankind which despises cowardice is right, because there is probably no such test of human metal as whether or not and how soon and effectively the strongest of all instincts can be controlled in the interests of the group or of a great cause.

One of the greatest problems, if not the chief one that overtops all others for officers is how best, soonest, and most effectively to teach the control of fear. This is also a most important problem for each individual soldier, and how he acquits himself in this task is perhaps the best measure of military efficiency. How can this be done?

It is quite impossible at present to enumerate all the means, direct and indirect, which contribute to this end, for there is almost nothing in a soldier's activities or in his environment that does not in some

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Rivers: *The Repression of War Experiences*, Proc. Royal Soc. Med., 1918: G. W. Crile: *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace*, N. Y., Macmillan, 1916; M. Dide, *Les Emotions et La Guerre*, Paris, Alcan, 1917; A Gemelli: *Il Nostro Soldato; Saggi di Psicologia Militare*: Milano, Treves. 1918; André Léri: *Shell Shock*: Ed. by Sir John Collie, Lond., Univ. Press, 1919; E. H. Southard: *Shell Shock and Other Neuropsychiatric Problems*, 599 Case Histories from War Literature, 1914-18, Bost., 1919. 982 pp. (Bibliography of 77 p.). M. W. Brown: *Neuropsychiatry and the War.* A Bibliography with Extracts. N. Y., 1919. 292 pp. Jean Lépine: *Troubles Mentaux de Guerre*, Paris, 1917.

way bear upon it, and every day's experience helps or hinders this power of control. We can only enumerate here some of the most general and effective aids.

1. When the soldier is lying in the trenches under heavy bombardment, or when he is on distant outpost work in the dark, or wherever instinctive activity, of which danger is the greatest stimulus, is hindered, the morale of courage can never long survive if the mind is focused solely upon the peril; and here, then, we see how the soul invariably turns to the chief mechanism possible in such conditions, namely, diversion. Any kind of activity or occupation that takes the thoughts away from the immediate danger, however routine the work may be and whether ordered or self-enforced—moving about, conversation, cigarettes, especially a joke, information passed along the line (which sometimes is designed only for this end) even some added discomfort like inrush of water or the necessity of digging out a closed communication, anything to eat or drink—all this helps to relieve, if only momentarily, the strain which may otherwise be so great that the order to go over the top, even in a grilling fire, comes as a relief. Never has the need of diversion been more recognized or more supplied, all the way from home to the front, than for the American soldier in this war, and its power for morale can never be overestimated. Of all these diversions the best are those that involve the most activity, whether of mind or body, on the part of the soldier himself. It is far more effective for him to act in a play or sing

in a concert than to be merely a spectator or listener.

2. The second corrective of fear is example. Of this we have had endless illustrations. Even the narration of a brave deed, or a decoration for heroism conferred upon one whom a soldier knows is a powerful incentive to emulation, so gregarious is man. An instance of it actually seen is, of course, far more impressive. Hocking tells of a piper who found a large company of men thrown on the ground, exhausted and in despair and expecting annihilation, who were rallied by two friends, one of whom marched up and down with a penny whistle while the other imitated playing a drum, until the wearied men were given cheer and arose, saying, "We'll follow you to hell," and were finally led to safety. Here the example of the officer is, of course, the most potent of all. Often every eye is upon him to see if he flinches, hesitates, or wavers. If he is cool, most men will follow him anywhere, so contagious is courage. In every group of soldiers that become well acquainted there are individuals, sometimes officers and sometimes privates, to whom in danger their comrades turn instinctively for their cue.

3. Some temperaments are able to establish their morale against fear by working themselves up beforehand to a full realization of their peril and of the chance of a wound or even death, and accepting the situation once and for all. We have the best instance of this that I know of in the records of a number of French youths. They thoroughly realized that they

had entered upon a course which might have a fatal termination, and devoted themselves at the outset, as martyrs if need be, to a cause which was far greater than their own life. Having made this great decision, they found it gave them strength and poise in critical moments. Not very many, however, save intellectuals, and by no means all of them, are capable of this type of conscious self-immolation.

4. Far more acquire a kind of fatalism. Some optimists come to believe that the bullet they are to stop has not been cast, while more find relief in the sense that the lot has already been cast in the lap of Fate and that they are to live or die more or less irrespectively of anything that they can do. This is akin to the Stoic fatalism, the Mohammedan *kismet,* or the Puritan will of God.

5. Some, probably by no means as many as churchmen expected, find genuine nervous poise in a religious belief in life after death. This is probably nowhere near so effective in modern armies as it was among the old Teutons, who believed in Walhalla; or among the Moslems, who held that the dead warrior passes to the lap of the houris in Paradise; or in Cromwell's Puritan "Ironsides." The sentiment lingers on, but more in the realm of poetic fancy and dim, vague feeling than in conscious conviction. The sense that death will bring honor to friends, or be a sacrifice which the country or the cause needs, involves a higher type of idealism than most soldiers can make into a very potent assuager of fear. Des-

pite all that is said of the glories of dying for one's country or for liberty, the analyses that have been made of patriotism show it to be a complex of many elements but not yet of prime significance to this end.

6. Probably the chief and most practical factor in the conquest of fear is familiarity. Long before he actually smells powder, the soldier's fancy irresistibly dwells much upon his possible wounds or death, while as soon as he nears the front he sees the victims of battle all about him and even sees his friends and comrades fall. He serves his turn on the burial squad and has to bring back the dead and wounded to the rear. This gives a certain immunizing callousness to it all, and he becomes very familiar with the thought that he may be the next victim and so accepts the fact with growing equanimity. The seasoned fighter learns to fight on even though his mates are falling on all sides in death or agony. Human nature can get used to anything, and wont raises the threshold of temibility higher than anything else.

II. *Morale and death.*—In peace death and everything connected with it has always been the most solemn of all themes. The sick- and the death-bed, the last tender services, the final breath, the closing of the eyes, pallor, coldness, the preparation of the body, the shroud, coffin, funeral, entombment, and mourning, with all its depression and its trappings,—all these things make a supreme appeal to the human heart and mind. The transition from warm and active life to a putrefying corpse has always shocked

the human soul as nothing else has had the power to do. Every known savage tribe sooner or later puts its dead away because the mind and the senses of man cannot endure the phenomena of decomposition. Hence interment, cremation, burial in water, desiccation in air, towers of silence, are all to disguise or divert the soul from this supreme horror. Sepulchers, monuments, cairns, pyramids, and epitaphs, are also disguises (*Deckphenomene*), just as our customs in dress from the primitive fig-leaf, and also personal adornments and toilet and marriage ceremonials, have as one of their motives the diversion of attention from the organs and functions of sex to other parts of the body or to secondary sex qualities. Many tell us that the prime motive for a belief that there is such a thing as a soul, that it survives the body, and that its fate may be more or less followed through the vicissitudes of a future life, was to distract attention from rotting carrion to a more beautiful set of images, and to relieve the shock of the primitive fear that death had ended all. All funeral rites serve two contrasted ends. On the one hand, they either help us to realize that our friends, whose death perhaps we have not personally seen, are really dead, which is so hard for us to conceive, and that they will return to us at least in the form of dreams unless the ghosts are thus laid; or else they are to turn away our thoughts from the physical phenomena of the decay of the flesh to memories and hopes, and to mitigate the shock by a compensatory belief that some part of the dead yet lives.

War brings not only the community but especially the soldier to a radically different view of death. He is not only liable to see his comrades mutilated in every conceivable way and pass in a moment from the most intense life to the most agonizing death, but he must often himself gather the mangled fragments of the bodies of his comrades, and sometimes, in excavations or by the disentombments caused by shells, envisage every stage of decomposition of those previously interred in ways that Barbusse[2] has so gruesomely described but which even pictorial artists for bear to portray. Thus to the soldier every kind of camouflage of death is rudely torn away, and he meets it in all its ghastliness at first hand. Not only this, but while in peace murder is the worst of all crimes, it now becomes the chief of all duties, for to kill is the goal of all his training and preparation. He must inflict death with all its horrible sequels upon as many of the foe as possible. Worst of all, in some sense, is the fact that whereas in civil life death usually comes to the old, the weak, or the sick, and occurs only at rare intervals to those we know and love, now it suddenly sweeps off masses of the strongest and best in the very prime of life. This brings death home to the soldier and the community in a far closer way. The soldier must harden himself to all this at short notice as best he can and to such a degree that his efficiency be not abated, his courage fail, or his spirits droop. This is the acme of all the strains put upon his morale.

[2] *Under Fire*.. Tr., Lond., Dent, 1917.

The responses, both conscious and unconscious, to this situation are manifold, and psychology is not yet able to evaluate or even tabulate them all.

1. A few, as we have seen, react by bravado. They affect to laugh death in the face, and make ghastly jests about the most agonizing of all these experiences. With some temperaments this initial affectation of callousness is so instinctive and often effective a method of hardening a soul to travel this viaticum of woe that we must not condemn it without some of the insight that sympathy with the dire need of this emergency can bring.

2. Others develop the impressions and convictions of their early religious teaching and are more or less steadied by a belief, or at least a hope, that if their bodies die there is an immortal part that will not only survive but meet a reward in some "boat-house on the Styx." This inveterate instinct undoubtedly acts unconsciously and buoys up many a heart without any very conscious conviction and without any form of outer expression, for the soldier thinks it cowardly to revert suddenly to a faith which he has neglected through all his post-adolescent years. Only poets and spiritualists or pronounced religionists are able to formulate these anticipations of personal immortality, or even to conceive that the souls of those who die continue to strive above, as in Kaulbach's famous cartoon, or that they go either to Walhalla or to the houris. The latter view is so in line with the deep instinct to find in love compensation for the

hardships of war that it makes this creed perhaps the ideal one for the soldier. No doubt the experiences of war tend to develop at least secretly every such proclivity where it exists, and this has been best and most sublimely expressed in the often very confessional memoirs and letters of French soldiers.

3. Many, however, if not most soldiers to-day, refuse consciously to come to very definite terms with the problem of their own death but only feel, as Winifred Kirkland[3] well puts it, that somehow their immolation, if the worst comes, will not be in vain and that their influence will be some kind of a pervasive power for good, even if it works impersonally and *sub specie aeternitatis*. Their life is so intense and their effort so strenuous that the merit of it all cannot be entirely lost. They are on the path to glory and it cannot all end in nothingness, even if oblivion close over their personality. Somewhere, somehow in the cosmic order their life and death will not have been in vain.

4. It is the very fact of the soldier's super-vitality-and-activity, which means the farthest possible remove from death, that makes so many soldiers optimistic fatalists and causes them to feel if not that they have a charmed life that they will somehow escape. The glow and tingle, and perhaps especially the erethism of war, often make the healthy soldier feel that he has too strong a hold upon life for death to be able to stop him.

[3] *The New Death*, Boston, 1918.

There are more than three hundred distinct graveyards definitely set apart for the dead in the three hundred miles that stretch from Flanders to Switzerland, which is thus itself to-day the world's greatest cemetery. More and more friends at home feel as Harry Lauder did about his son—that he ought always to rest in this vast field of glory, and many writers have expressed the belief that these "God's acres" should henceforth and forever be too hallowed for any armies to fight over and ought to be more defensive than fortifications. In the early stages of the war many who were buried here, often uncoffined, in trenches near where they fell, and perhaps sewed in a brown army blanket with a Union Jack laid over them,[4] will never be identified. Not a few of these earlier cemeteries had their crosses or inverted bottles, containing the names of the soldiers, torn away, while very many bodies were disinterred by the shell fire of later engagements, and many trenches had to be run through them without involving reburials. But since then every effort has been made by special organizations in each of the allied countries to preserve the identity of every fallen soldier no matter how mausolized his body was. In England a Graves Registration Commission under General Fabian Ware was appointed, which sought to trace everyone from the last time he was seen to his final resting place, and to send information and souvenirs to his relatives. Iden-

[4] *The Care of the Dead*, London, 1916. See also Lord Northcliffe: *At the War*, in the chapter "Search for the Missing," and Alfred Ney: *Le Droit des Morts* (1918), with 70 photographs of graves.

tification was later stamped on an aluminum tape, and the exact site of each grave entered in a register. There are various kinds of wooden and iron markers, with separate lots for Orientals. These registration units have done much to bind France and England. When the English came the French said, "We leave you our trenches and our dead," and have given the English permanent cemeteries. The desire by the friends for assurance that their dead have found a grave, that it is being tended, and that they "lie comfortable"—all this is now very effectively taken care of by voluntary means, and here the Red Cross has done some of its best work, verifying records and affixes with dates, collecting everything found on the body and sending it to relatives, and answering every inquiry possible.

Major Pierce was given complete charge of our Graves Registration Bureau, which marks and erects crosses, uses a symbolic medallion, and photographs graves collectively and individually for the next of kin. It is more and more felt to be a blessed service to rescue from obscurity those who have fallen. Larger monuments are to be erected by the different countries, and an international federation has been established to develop military sculptures for them. Land was permanently given by the French to the American Expeditionary Force, and several of the larger plots have been fenced and posted while smaller ones were arranged near the front, with a unit of two officers and fifty men provided for each divisional ceme-

tery, the size of these units to be increased when necessary.

Provision is made in all countries to separate if possible the dead of the enemy from those of the home army. In Germany great attention is given to this subject, and competitions have also been instituted for the best tombs for individuals and for public group monuments.[5] Some of these plans are most striking and seem to us in shocking taste. Some are high mounds like those of the Vikings for burying men in mass on the battle-field. Some are solemn mausoleums, others circular enclosures; some suggest cairns, pyramids, towers; one is a solid block-house; many have swords, spears, and helmets, while the iron cross is very common. From one a dozen tall parallel spears emerge. Metal insignia often half cover the stone work. One vast tree-shaped monument is covered with individual placques. The characters are often runic. One shows two rows of hands, twelve in all, each bearing an upright sword.

As to mourning, President Wilson approved the recommendations of the Woman's Committee of The Council of National Defense that three-inch black bands be worn whereon a gilt star might be placed for each member of the family who lost his life in the service. England was the first to advocate simpler mourning and the restrictions of crêpe. Even in the Boer War, Queen Victoria suggested that the morale of the people might be improved by less black. France

[5] *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale.* Wien, 1915.

followed to some extent this movement in England, and leaders of fashion there did much to simplify mourning and to make the hat, the veil, shoes, and dress less ultra-fashionable. This movement, while it has impressed itself somewhat upon ultra-fashionables, has had a far more beneficent effect on the women of the middle and lower classes who desire to show in their habiliments the sorrow they so profoundly feel but lack means or are engaged in occupations which make ceremonial mourning difficult.

Cora Harris has written a mystical story of Lee and Grant and other great fighters of our Civil War going to France in spiritual shape, hovering above the regiments and guiding the brain and nerving the heart of the novice. She might have gone farther and imagined Washington, Jackson, Paul Jones, Lafayette, and also very many of the heroes of defeat (see W. J. Armstrong's *The Heroes of Defeat,* Cincinnati, 1905) thus aiding our troops. It is well to remember here that many believe that the gods themselves were originally worshiped as ancestors, and that in the code of the Japanese bushido the dead were a tremendous power in her war with Russia. We should do far more than we do now "lest we forget." The best memorial to the dead is to carry on their work, and there are many who believe that this country in its past has gone farther than any other toward ignoring what it owes to those who have given their lives that we may be free and prosperous. Most that we are able to do we owe to ancient benefactors, the memory of far too

many of whom has perished from among men. While, therefore, we may be less certain of personal survival and reward in another world for those who die in a great cause, we can do very much to give them a compensatory mundane immortality that must make a powerful appeal to every soul capable of loyalty and devotion to a cause greater than himself. From all this we see that the morale of those who go out never to return, and whose last words, whatever they were, we shall tend to cherish as a kind of *morituri salutamus,* as well as that of their survivors in the field and at home, has no more fitting index than the way in which those who have met the great defeat are enshrined in our memory.

The only meaning of the new death is how it affects life. To the philosopher who sees and knows that there is nothing beyond the grave, fictions about the soul's future have a very high and a very diverse but a solely pragmatic value. We know nothing whatever about it and probably never can. Death is simply the great *tabula rasa* on which the imagination of every race, creed, and even individual paints, and to the very few who can think unselfishly about it the holocaust of war only intensifies the consciousness of nescience. It is the great void in which the intellect discerns nothing but total blackness but which feeling, wishes, fear, and fancy always people with their creations; and these creations do profoundly affect our lives and also the way in which we meet the thought or the reality of our own death. It is these

creations that war stimulates and makes very real.[6]

The soldier's attitude toward death is often very fluctuating; it varies inversely with the love of life. Sometimes when in great depression he exposes himself, hoping that a bullet will bring surcease from all his troubles and feeling that death would be a most welcome relief. The scholarly soldier asks what is the use of all his study if he is to be cut off. If there is a future life it must be a rather drab platonic communion with ideas which is more suggestive of death than life, as Plato defined philosophy as the love and cult of death. Again, the young man feels that he has done too little to justify his survival and perhaps finds comfort in the face of death in the conviction that he never will. Again, he revolts at the prospect of his

[6] The best collection of data illustrating this is found in Maurice Barres' *The Faith of France* (Chapter X) where he prints the systematically collected letters of many young French soldiers who wrote down their own thoughts and feelings about death and later suffered it, to each of which he adds his own comments. See also *Lettres d'un Soldat* (Paris, 1916, 164p.) by an anonymous painter, a solitary and obscure genius who, like Olivier in Rolland's *Jean Christophe*, every day made in mind the supreme sacrifice. Even in the trench and under fire he brooded on the beauty of the starry night, dawn, etc. The macabre of battle could not keep his spirits down. His intellect found little stimulus in war but his spontaneous emotions filled his soul to overflowing. Thus the soul tends to heal its own wounds like a skillful surgeon, often even while the critical faculties looking coldly on know that these are only consolations. See also P. Bourget's *Le Sens de la Mort*, wherein the skeptical surgeon, Dr. Ortigue, dying of cancer and knowing death to be extinction, operates in his hospital at the front till the end. His words and example bring his far younger wife to share his belief and to vow to commit suicide with him in the end. She is saved, however, from this after he dies by the example of a wounded young soldier who dies like a true Christian extending the crucifix over her. The faith of this hero overcame the skepticism of the scientist and the young wife promises to live. A still more sublimated and ecstatic faith is found in Borsi's *A Soldier's Confidences with God: A Spiritual Colloquy* (1918). Other books on this subject are L. de Grandmaison's *Impressions de Guerre de Prêtres Soldats* (1916), and L. Bloy's *Méditation's d'un Solitaire* (1916).

happy youth so tragically and suddenly closed. On the other hand, if he has been good, he rejoices that he may be cut off before age with its temptations can spoil him, feeling perhaps that he is better now than he will ever be again. He has accomplished little in the world and perhaps his whole existence is to be futile and vacant. Then he alternates to a kind of animal hatred of death. Later he may avow atheism and think that those who share that belief and the mystics are more truly religious than the Christians. Thus the soldier in his secret soul is prone under the stimulus of impending death to develop the germinal attitudes of about every philosophy and creed, one after another, flitting from positive to negative views according to his mood or the changing circumstances of war. Scattered through the confessional books of soldiers we can already find abundant examples of this, and it would be easy, if there were space, to collect an anthology to illustrate it, although it more often takes place, especially in more uneducated and inarticulate souls, rather below than above the threshold of consciousness. But it is certain that the war has stimulated active souls to repeat in the often unplummeted depths of their feeling about all the efforts that man has made to come to terms with the King of Terrors.[7]

As I write (February, 1920), Sir Oliver Lodge, a notable British physicist best known for his studies

[7] Arthur Graeme West: *The Diary of a Dead Officer.* This soldier in his letters and poems illustrates more of these moods than any other I have found, but it is most common in French memoirs.

of the ether, bereaved by the loss of his son in the war, is making a very popular and lucrative tour of this country, propagating a kind of spiritism which Sir Edward Clodd says "drags into the mire whatever lofty conceptions of a spiritual world have been framed by mortals." He tells us that spirits have bodies of the same size and form as ours and that in their world, which for most of them is neither Heaven nor Hell, there are "animals, trees, and flowers" and also other things which cannot be told of in the vocabulary of earth, because speech is more or less of a nonconductor in these interworld conversations. We all have two bodies, according to Sir Oliver, and the spiritual, post mortem body at first finds the next world very like ours; but as evolution rules in the world of spirits as well as in ours, there are no breaks, and as time passes, most spirits grow absorbed in their own environment and lose touch with ours unless they visit us on missionary tours. His lectures and prestige have caused an extraordinary revival of cults of the occult, and demands for even the ouija board, which he has made a fad, have suddenly far outrun the supply, while the sanctums of mediums and fortune-tellers are crowded as never before, especially by those who have lost dear ones in the war. Long ago the Catholic, and lately the English church protested against this strange recrudescence of the quintessence of all the superstitions of the past, of which ghost cults are the very core and of which, strange to say, nearly all the modern scientific

victims are physicists, who have failed to heed the good old precept, "Physics beware of metaphysics." It is a consolation for mourners to feel that their dear ones are still near, and it is a cheap and easy method to encourage this belief as a sort of pragmatic first-aid to scab or bind up the wounds of death. Why not let survivors cherish so fond a wish and believe it true if it have real therapeutic value- The dead do live on in memory and in the influence of their deeds and words, and we may hope that they love us beyond the bourn. But the true comforter teaches survivors to live without them, to close up ranks and "carry on" till we, too, cross the "great divide." To bring them back is regressive and degenerative for both them and us. It is not to take up their tasks but to burden them with ours. It is psychologically akin to the necrophilism which cannot part with corpses. It is to camouflage the grim fact of death and to help mourners to flee from, rather than to face its reality courageously. The position of the Protestant church in this country ought to be clear and articulate on this theme, but it is not, and its clergy are too prone to fall into the old, cheap, and easy way of ministering to the afflicted, not realizing that in so doing they are opening the doors to a superstition that is as old as the cave-man and as persistent as rudimentary organs.

Conservative England, which best of all countries in the world illustrates the dual housekeeping of a *Diesseits* and a *Jenseits,* is naturally the world's

chief breeding-ground of (and as produced through the Psychic Research Society) the most subtle and pervasive examples of this other-worldness. Nowhere have intelligent people found it so hard to see that the only real phenomena here are subjective and not objective, and been so prone to ignore the warning of Kant, who after reading Swedenborg refused to accept "the dreams of a visionary interpreted by theories of a metaphysician." To this predilection for dual housekeeping we must attribute not only British religiosity and the long lack of *rapport* with the Teutonic mind, which from Wundt to Freud has contributed so much, but the backwardness and unproductivity of the English mind, as a whole, in psychology, and its tendency to regard all psychological questions from the standpoint of philosophy rather than as matters of purely empirical science.

In this country cultured and half-cultured Greater Boston, too, has always been uniquely susceptible to cults that tend to split or dualize the soul. In Puritan days the other world stood over against this in the sharpest contrast, and both were really real. The Concord transcendentalists refined but in no degree lessened this contrast. Then came the *circa* ten years of the Concord summer school, in which W. T. Harris and his group sought to graft upon Emersonianism an exotic German idealism. Spiritism here centered in Boston, with its two chief journals; and so later did Eddyism and Emmanuelism. The faltering but profoundly sympathetic attitude of William James,

who died just before the psychanalytic movement was felt in this country, helped greatly to prepare the soil for Sir Oliver and writers like King, Bond, Cameron, Hill, Hyslop, *et al.* Like the medieval church Sir Oliver preaches a domain of faith and intuition over against that of science and reason. All church-goers exercise a kind of flight from modern reality on Sundays, but Greater Boston has long since learned to do so on week-days as well. Hence mystic cults, crystal gazing, automatic writing, etc., are symptoms of mental dissociation. When the inhibitions of true culture that always tend to repress spiritism are lessened by respectable advocacy and put in modern terms, it becomes a veritable Potiphar's wife to which all adherents of double standards of mental housekeeping, like Sir Oliver, prove no Joseph.

To form an intelligent opinion in this field one must have the following essential qualifications:

1. He must have a knowledge of what sleight of hand can do. The magician Keller claimed to be able to perform every one of the so-called physical phenomena of spiritism by natural means, though many who witnessed him insisted that he was really aided by spirits and was a traitor to them because he would not acknowledge it. Practically all mediums who deal with physical phenomena fall back on some of these tricks, at least, if the spirits do not work, and whoever heard of even an amateur prestidigitator who accepted the spiritist creed!

2. The investigator must know border-line psychology, of which a good introduction would be the story of the wonderful performances of the German horse, Hans, before it was found to be muscle-reading, as all mind-reading is. One must understand hypnogogic and hypnopompic states; hallucinations, individual and collective; what the imagination, and attention with its tonic cramps can do; the psychology of doubles and imaginary companions, often supplemental in character; something of those cases of insanity which begin in belief in transcendental personages and energies and end as these beliefs clear up; hypnotism; and all the rest.

3. He must know normal psychology, and most of all the unconscious, wherein live and move all the primitive springs of thought and feeling, and in which are recorded all man's individual and phyletic experiences from his savage and animal ancestors. He must realize how prone men are to believe with the heart, which often leads them to the crudest *credo quia absurdum.*

What up-to-date psychologist of repute believes in spiritism or can follow the rabulations of Sir Oliver? Again, the messages are inane and trivial. Those that purport to come from great minds from Washington down to Roosevelt suggest that these noble souls are in various stages of decrepitude not to say decomposition. What have any of them ever added to our knowledge? All the mediums I have tested will bring fictitious and impossible personalities to the spiritual

end of the phone just as readily as they do real personages.

Of all this Sir Oliver knows nothing, and in the narrow field left him his views are naïve and poetic, and he relies solely on his own personal intuition and refuses to take notice of any criticism. He believes in a universal ether, as do most physicists, as something diffused through all space, more real than matter, which was secreted or precipitated from it and to which all physical things are porous. Out of it all worlds and all that is in them came, and into it they will be resolved. This is hidden to sense, which can only apprehend corporeal forms of existence, which are not really real. But it is revealed to a few seers.

Now, ether is the modern conception which all the ontologists from Parmenides to Hegel anticipated in their ideas of the pure and primal being, which is equal to nothing because no predicates, save negative ones, can be assigned to it. It is not unlike Spinoza's *Substance* or the Indic *Nirvana*. But all such conceptions have always been and must forever be pantheistic. The corollary of them all is absorption, including personality, into the *One and All*. It knows nothing of any form or limit and is homogeneous. Thus to admit that it is the medium in which spirits live, move, and have their being is to destroy its very nature, and also to make our knowledge of it dependent upon our knowledge of the somatology and psychology of spirits.

Again, Sir Oliver believes in the preëxistence of souls, as Plato did, and which he seems to think necessarily involved in the belief in their postexistence. Children come into the world haunted by prenatal reminiscences, as Wordsworth thought, but lose them slowly with advancing years as the "shades of the prison-house" close in about them. The brain is a "screen" which keeps out supermundane experiences, and men were made thus blind to celestial things that they might not be ravished by them but "stick to their job" of living out their lives here and now. To this the answer we deem both obvious and overwhelming. All these vestigial intimations of a higher life in infancy are perfectly explained in modern padology as due to the larger racial and hereditary momenta developed in the long experience of the human stirps and its animal forbears which tend to crop out in tender years because childhood is older, larger, and more generic than adulthood, the stages of which have been added slowly step by step as man evolved. Thus the infant recapitulates the stages of the development of the race and is a better representative of it than the adult soul. Infant souls thus preëxist, but solely in their progenitors, and are developed according to Mendelian laws.

Again, if the brain were made a "screen" thus from supernal influence, it would seem that Sir Oliver's brain and that of those who long to penetrate the veil between this and the next world were imperfect and leaky and had failed in some degree of performing

their function as a filter to keep man at his job here. Bad filters cause often the most malignant epidemics. Of old it was thought that the gods punished those who pried into things not permitted man's estate, and we may well hope that Sir Oliver, who has left his laboratory to propagate superstition, will not illustrate this Nemesis. Excessive devotion to other-world studies has driven many able men to insanity. "One world at a time and this one now" would seem to be the moral from his own conception of man's anatomical and psychological makeup.

Just as life has progressed from the amoeba up to man, so Sir Oliver conceives an unbroken order after death through saintly communion, supernal beings or angels, to God himself. But this would require some kind of transmigration of souls. If I did descend from the amoeba, the amoeba is not immortal in me. There is no more of it in me than there will be of me in the angel that may evolve out of my life in Sir Oliver's other world, and my desire for another life will find no more satisfaction in this angel than the amoeba gets in me. Indeed the gulf is wider in the former case for there is a somatic continuum between the amoeba and me.

Telepathy is, of course, the last stronghold of all spiritistic phenomena, and all spiritists assume that souls communicate without the mediation of any of the organs of sense. This very many people believe from their own experience, but it can never be accepted by science as a fact until we can so control its

conditions that we can announce in advance that at such a time and place we will demonstrate it. Now in fact all nerve fibers are so isolated that even in the nerve centers an impression never leaps from one fiber to another even within the same sense; much less does the strongest sound impression jump over to the nerves of sight, etc. Now if impressions cannot thus leap over such microscopic distances, how improbable that they should be transmitted between individuals or across continents! Psychologists agree that coincidences, similarity in the structure and function of the minds of friends and relatives, aided by credulity, fondness, and a preëxistent apperceptive organ, account for all these telepathic phenomena and that there is no wireless between souls, as students of electrical phenomena are so prone to infer by analogy and literary tropes. Psychology, too, no less fully explains the "sense of presence," *déjà vu* experiences, sudden and intrusive ideas with apparently no associative link, and all the rest.

Thus if culture would keep its own morale high, it must resolutely refuse, despite the intense desire of the soul to answer the great question whether if a man die he shall live again, so incalculably intensified throughout the world by the vast harvest of dear ones cut off in their prime by the war, to capitulate to this recrudescence of troglodyte superstition. The universe is not so made that it gratifies every human wish. Even the love of life, the strongest of all desires, is negated by the grueling reality of death. One

writer says, "If death ends all, ring down the curtain. Life is a lie, there is no God, and evil shall become my good." This is the petulance of a spoiled child of civilization. We have at least the immortality of good deeds, which the Buddhist exhorts all to think on as their chief comfort as the soul is entering Nirvana. There is also the immortality of the stirps; if we live right, we live in and for future generations and make the world more fit for them. These are the mundane surrogates for immortality, and we can cultivate them here. The admonition of morale, in view of the holocaust of death by the war, is to close up the ranks as best we can, cherish as sacred the memory of the fallen, resolve that their death shall not be in vain, and press onward, true Soldiers of Life.

III. *The morale of hate and anger.*—Anger is the most sthenic of all states. A man who is thoroughly mad to the point of abandon can do and say many things impossible to him in any other state. It rings up latent powers of nerve and muscle, it flushes the blood with the most combustible of all the high explosive physiological products, adrenalin, like oil sprayed into a furnace. Savages work themselves up to a frenzy of rage before rushing upon their foe. Hate, for our purposes here, may be considered as a kind of deep-settled and prolonged anger, or at least a permanent possibility and proclivity to its more explosive form. The conditions of modern warfare, however, are radically changed in this, as in so many other respects. The boy who is liable to fits of Ber-

serker rage and warns his pal not to get him "mad" has no place in the modern army. The old morbid *iracundia,* excessive touchiness, and even the old *furor teutonicus,* which was so terrible in primitive Germany, avail little in campaigns where the enemy is so rarely seen and remains impersonal. It is a little doubtful whether the German songs of hate and their cult of hatred, especially against England, have made them really more effective in war. Kipling's threatening poem when England begins to hate, the old appeals to this impulse in the cry, "Remember the Maine" or "Remember the Lusitania" have produced really little result. Such waves of public indignation are generally more or less harmless and transient vents of animosity. Even in a bayonet scrimmage of man against man the evidence indicates that not so much hate as the instinct of self-preservation impels the thrust fatal to the enemy. Moreover, Fritz when captured or met under any other conditions is found to be not such a bad fellow. He is, after all, but a man much like ourselves. Again, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain anger for any length of time at a high pressure. Its very nature is more or less fulminating, and there is a certain tendency to subside and to lapse into a state of indifference, or perhaps even to react to a certain degree of friendliness by the law of compensation.

True, the wrath of Achilles was the theme of Homer, as the wrath of God is one of the chief themes of the Old Testament, and the achievements of Or-

lando Furioso sometimes had a certain epic sublimity; but the day for all this has passed. Even the outrageous atrocities of the Germans leave only a deep and settled conviction that something drastic must be done to prevent their recurrence, and they can hardly be said to have furnished the motive of chief strength in the conduct of the war. Never was there a more colossal psychological blunder made than when the foe decided on the method of frightfulness, for by this he aroused a deep and righteous sentiment of retribution which had the very opposite effect from that he calculated, namely stimulating recruits and loan subscriptions and nerving the arm of the Allies with something of the energy of desperation. It was these deeds, and the ever clearer conviction that they were planned with deliberate purpose, that has done more than even the ambitious conquest and the affront to the rest of Europe implied in the superman assumption to make real peace hard, and put off beyond the vision of those now living the day of the reëstablishment of international friendliness in the world. Men can pardon legitimate war but not these unprecedented barbarities.

The whole spirit of the Allies, especially of the English, was totally different. They took into the field the habits of games played according to rule by gentlemen who would scorn to take an unfair advantage, in which even the less noble-minded of the contestants were anxious that only the best man should win. Games are played with the utmost energy and some-

times almost desperation but never by the true sportsman with personal antagonism. And so the war on the part of the English was a repulsive job that simply had to be done, like the cleaning out of Augean stables. The more monstrous the atrocities the greater the need of quelling the menace. Instead of cultivating hate in the school and the community, this was left to itself, and the chief appeal was to a sense of need and duty to down the Kaiser as the common enemy of mankind or a mad dog.

I heard a college president preach to soldiers that instead of hating the German when he thrust his bayonet into his abdomen he must love him and offer a silent prayer for his soul. Such an attitude is a psychological impossibility.[8] It may be a relic of the savage custom of propitiating the souls of victims lest their ghosts come back to wreak vengeance on the slayer; but even this was done not in the heat of conflict but afterwards.

We conclude, therefore, that it is not only legitimate but necessary that our soldiers should know authentically and impartially all we can tell them in regard to outrages that lie without and beyond the sphere of war precedents and of humanity.

The Frenchman who had seen his home or that of his fellowman destroyed, his orchards ruined, his tools and cattle stolen, his wife, daughter, and sister outraged or enslaved, must have found hate and re-

[8] See N. Wyrubow: *Zur Psychoanalyse des Hasses, Zeitschrift f. Psychotherapie u. Medizinische Psychologie,* V. 5, 42, 1914.

venge a tremendous source of militant energy. We have many instances which show how he burned to give the Germans a taste of their own medicine on their own soil, and how hard it was for him to refrain from all excesses when after the armistice he crossed the German frontier. This we Americans can sympathize with but can never feel, for we have not suffered in this way.

Thus with the conquest of the German arms we must believe at least that the policy of frightfulness in war has been given its *coup de grâce.* Never again will a nation, however arrogant and powerful, dare to arouse the awful Nemesis of revenge by thus outraging, as the Germans have done, the basal instincts of humanity and justice. The bitter resentments thus kindled will die slow and hard. At the moment of writing they threaten to impel the French toward a policy of reprisals, which are abundantly justified but which the other nations believe should be repressed at least from motives of policy. Thus we should see clearly all the hateful things the enemy has done and should not attempt to restrain our righteous indignation. But wars, especially long wars, will be won, if they scourge the world again, as this one has, not by anger; and no nation after this object lesson of its futility will ever adopt the policy of atrocities.

CHAPTER IV

MORALE AND DIVERSIONS

I. Humor, wit, and fun—Its compensatory value for morale—II. Music as the organ of affectivity—Its development in this country, France, England, and Germany—War poetry—III. The soldier's reading.

I. *The morale of humor.*—This is far more seen in the Anglo-Saxon race and in those who speak the Romance languages than among the Teutons, whose rancor in war makes them so serious that none accuse them of the "curse of jocularity." Humor is perhaps the very best camouflage for fear. In looking over files of the trench journals of the Allies nothing has struck me more forcibly than the desperate and pathetic attempts to jest, even about death itself in its most horrid aspects. This often seems most shocking to civilian readers, while some of the attempts to joke are so abortive as to be simply pathetic. Coningsby Dawson writes, "Pretty well every man I have met out here has the amazing guts to wear his crown of thorns as though it were a cap and bells." Jests normally belong to the most carefree moments of life, but at the front they are used to cover up the most serious and solemn of all human experiences, viz., the envisagement of death. The instinct to turn the most solemn facts in the environment into a theme of laughter is partly an attempt of the individual to re-

lease his own thoughts from a present too excruciatingly agonizing to be long borne, but it is also partly to signal to others that he can keep his soul free and happy in the face of danger; while a third ingredient is the social one of heartening others to do the same. Thus a "funny" man in the army is a godsend, and men instinctively turn to the mirth-maker, even though they are conscious that his levity is half affectation. In peace and in sickness it is often a great resource to be able to see the humorous side of things. It indicates a superfluity, margin, or reserve of energy and rests from the acutest mental strain, even if it requires a certain bravado. As has been often remarked, humor is more obvious and perhaps strained in the early stages of a war and tends to die out as men become seasoned. It is the new recruit who strives most desperately to be merry over cooties, mud, fatigue, and the rest, for it is at bottom a defense mechanism. The rookie would fain be able to look the most horrid form of death straight in the face and laugh and snap his fingers as if defying him to do his worst. It is not impossible that this instinct now in some sense vicariates for the anticipated joys in some warriors' heaven, which was clung to as a kind of compensation for death. At any rate, the soldier who is devoid of humor lacks one of the elements of the morale of good psychic regimen.

We should go mad with the tragedy of the atrocities of this war if there were no diversions from it, and Harold Begbie is woefully wrong in thinking it is

all too serious for fun or that soldiers and friends at home are shocked by all mirth-making and would think a funereal mood the best. This logic would banish fun from the world, for life itself is not only serious, but a battle. Someone has called the French shrug and smile a mind-sweeper. It means superfluous vitality. The American soldiers who marched down the middle of a Paris street with a deadly air-raid above, carrying Japanese paper parasols as a protection, invoked laughter from those who had crowded the doorways and bomb-cellars while explosives were falling all about; the boy who showed a sympathetic chaplain what appeared to be a Morocco-bound Testament in which a Hun bullet had been stopped and so saved his life, though it had wounded him severely, and, after listening to the obvious religious lesson, showed him that it was a pack of cards; the noted English airman at St. Quentin who stole high up into the air, disguising the identifying marks of his machine and drawing a fusillade from Teuton aircraft guns, all in order to drop what seemed to the terrified crowd below to be a bomb but proved to be only a Rugby football, that instead of exploding bounded high into the air; the straw and plug hats an American company wore from a nearby hat-shop in place of their helmets; the fun of the Sammies with the French language; the pet names given to effective big guns; the acceptance of the French perky Nennette and Rintintin against air-raids, worn everywhere by both sexes; the love of pets and mascots; the incessant and clever ap-

plication of the familiar terms of football and baseball to war incidents; the rich and clever trench slang; the interest in films of the Chaplin and Fairbanks order; the passion for farce, satire, comedy, and extravaganzas generally—all these, and countless more serve many a purpose of high morale. First of all, laughter makes friendships, even with those who speak another tongue; a mutual smile brings souls together. Again, it flaunts the fact that one refuses to be scared; and, thirdly, it transforms pathos into humor, just as Hood when dying of consumption found comfort in caricaturing his own more and more lethal symptoms. And there are the pathetic jests which are sometimes the last words of the dying, *e. g.,* Heine, when asked *Pouvez-vous siffler?* replied, *Pas même une comédie de Scribe.* Momus never played such a rôle as in this most tragic of wars, and when all this material is assembled and duly explained he will be shown to have had no insignificant part in winning it.[1]

The history of fools abundantly illustrates this principle.[2] Courts, guilds, ecclesiastics, noblemen,—all had them. They were often licensed truth-tellers, to be angered at whom would be a confession. Punch buffets and overcomes the devil. Death and the *danse macabre* of skeletons in graveyards flourished during the Great Plague. The church allowed everything to be satirized; fools mimicked bishops, and there were

[1] *The Psychology of Tickling, Laughing, and the Comic.* By G. S. Hall & Ar. Allen, Amr. J. of Psychol., 9, No. 1 (Oct. 1897).

[2] Dr. Doran: *The History of Court Fools,* 1868; C. F. Flögel: *Geschichte der Hofnarren,* Lpz., Siegert, 1789; M. A. Gazeau: *Les Bouffons,* 1892; M. Moreau: *Fous et Bouffons,* Paris, 1885.

mock Masses in which sausages were eaten on the altar. A peasant girl with a doll rode backward on an ass, aping the Holy Mother, and instead of the *Kyrie,* the *Gloria,* and the *Ite Missa Est,* there were brays and falsetto hee-haws. Sacred garments were worn wrong-side out, and on April Fool's day Christ was buffeted between Pilate and Herod. In Brant's *Nahrenschiff* one hundred and thirteen follies were set forth, and in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly,* in a sense anticipating Pope's *Dunciad,* Stultitia with her court judges everything. Hans Wurst, Pickled Herring, Stockfish, and later Krug der Rosen; Jean Pottage in France; and in England, Jack Pudding, Will Sommers, Micklejohn, Puff, and Capperdox, enjoyed boundless license to perform all their pranks, and sometimes were allowed to be obscene to fortify chastity by its opposite, and blasphemous in an age of orthodoxy, as a kind of catharsis to fix and reinforce plenary faith. Thus it was thought laughter could guard men against heterodoxy and vice by making them ridiculous, perhaps somewhat as Plato thought showing sots to the young established them in temperance, and just as the freak of the Chaplin order helps us against a sense of inferiority in ourselves.

II. *Music.*—Why do psychologists who write on army morale never mention music, which is one of its most important adjuvants? Plato praised the stately Doric and the martial Phrygian modes and would banish from his ideal Republic the softer Lydian and other modes as enervating. This would practically

exclude music of home, love, and nature. W. R. Spaulding[3] gives us a glimpse of the ancient and medieval rôle of music in war. A German committee examined and rejected 3,200 compositions written in competition for a prize offered for a fit national anthem. So far this war has produced nothing that begins to compare with *Die Wacht am Rhein,* which has almost become a symbol in that country of the War of 1870, the spirit of which it so well conserves; or with our *Battle Hymn of the Republic,* which expresses the American militant spirit of our Civil War.

General J. F. Bell said: "A songless army would lack in fighting spirit in proportion as it lacked responsiveness to music. There is no more potent force for developing unity in an army than song." It makes a good soldier better, and a trained soldier a more perfect one. We read how the ennobling war songs, *Sambre et Meuse* and *Père la Victoire* sustained the French at Verdun and elsewhere. Soon after we entered the war a national committee was formed, with F. Hanmer at its head, to induce soldiers to sing. Soon every camp had its song leader, and a school for training these leaders was established in New York with H. Barholt, the noted leader of community singing at its head. Conditions were novel, and new tracts had to be broken. A roster of musical ability was made out by the leaders, and concerts soon

[3] W. R. Spaulding: *Music a Necessary Part of the Soldier's Equipment,* Outlook, June 5, 1918; *War in Its Relation to American Music,* Mus. Q., Ja., 1918; *Work of the Music School Settlement in Americanizing Its Patrons,* Musician, Ag., 1918.

were organized and regimental bands reënforced.

When Mr. Stiles first mounted a soap box at Camp Devens and demanded that every private and officer in the assembly show his teeth and smile as if this were a drill order, his hearers were taken aback at first and chaffed, but they soon found that he was a good fellow, could take as well as give banter, and in a short time he had them singing the chorus of *Smile, Smile, Smile,* and their troubles, for the moment at least, went into the "old kit-bag."

The answers of these song leaders to a questionnaire I sent them showed very great differences in repertoires and also in the favorite songs in the different camps, but all testified to a unique hunger for music as a feeder of the very soul and stressed its power to key up exhausted nerves and muscles. Altogether these reports gave overwhelming proof that music had become no longer a luxury but a necessity for the soldier. It is a great bracer on a long hike, "eyes brightened, shoulders straightened, ranks closed up," etc. It is the best safeguard against care, worry, and homesickness. Americans tend to hide their real feelings, but their love of jocularity and extravaganzas cannot resist the catchy lilt of such chanteys as *Long Boy.* Idiotic jingles, and sometimes endless rhymes like *Ninety-Nine Bottles Hanging on a Wall* may make them forget fatigue near the end of a long march. Often one group of soldiers sings for a mile or two and then the song is taken up by another group, and this may go on for hours. Not only are great lib-

erties often taken with both music and words but the latter are sometimes permanently changed. Perhaps the height of extravagance is reached in the many songs which tell what the Sammies will do when they get to Berlin, or to the Kaiser, Hindenburg, etc., when they catch them. There are songs, too, of all grades of merit and a wide range of sentiment dealing with every petty detail of the soldier's life, which our doughboys so love to see in a musical mirror.

Some simple songs of perhaps low musical quality have made a very direct appeal to soldier morale. *Where De We Go From Here* suggests deeds accomplished and a pressure of fresh demands for still greater deeds, along with a spirit of entire subjection. *I Don't Care Where They Send Me* indicates something like a fatalistic submission and obedience. *Keep the Home Fires Burning* brings a vital touch in memory with home and makes the soldier realize that he is defending his dearest treasures. *The Long, Long Trail,* which several leaders call the song of songs in their camp, sounds a note of yearning, fate, with an Omar Khayyam touch of pathos. *Over There,* and *Keep Your Head Down, Fritzie Boy* are psychologically akin to the menacing gestures and shouts of savage tribes working themselves up to the frenzy of attack. Before some of these even *Tipperary,* the unprecedented world song, has paled somewhat in popularity. In the collections of camp songs I have listed some two-score more which seem to me must contribute more or less both to unify and to fortify the soul

of the soldier. Indeed the country owes a great debt to many composers of the second or third class of musical merit who have voiced the soldier's heart and helped to form his will. In some camps stress is laid upon having the soldiers join in community singing or, vice versa, in bringing the community to the camp for song. In France our boys have learned many songs of our Allies and have taught them their own songs, which has created a spirit of fraternity.

Of the five great themes of song,—patriotism and war, love, home, nature, and fun,—our soldiers are inclined to take patriotism for granted and are not especially fond of singing about it. Even *America* and *The Star Spangled Banner* are rather reserved for formal occasions, and are not often called for or spontaneously sung. A very different class of music is wanted about the campfire than is in demand during drill or outdoors, when music more closely associated with action is preferred. Of these five classes, love of friends at home, especially sweethearts, leads. In all the history of war love has been a very fundamental note, subordinated, as it has to be, to the stress and strain of war; and, unlike Plato, modern military authorities have not thought it inimical to morale but a kind of compensation or vicariate for hardship and battle strain. I have not found a single American song that deals directly with going over the top. The mind of the American soldier evades this as something he never wishes to be reminded of until the emergency compels him to face it. Our soldiers,

too, never sing songs of death of their own free will. Only a few religious songs have been popular, and half the great vogue of *Onward, Christian Soldiers* is due to the fact that it is an excellent march. The amount and degree of bathos that our boys relish would seem to have no limit.

Thus music for us has proved not so much an art as a bracer, and perhaps still more a diverter. Many old songs have survived; more so, as far as I can figure out, in England with its conservative tendencies than in any other of the Allied countries. Old songs are often mainly nuclei of sentiment and are charged with reminiscences vague but strongly toned with affectivity. They are dear to us because of their many associations, personal and national. Most Frenchmen who sing the *Marseillaise* remember that it was the song of the group of Girondists before the guillotine, which grew dim as each head fell into the basket, only one voice finally chanting it until the fatal knife ended it in the middle of a note. With us the old songs naturally prevailed at first because better known, and some still persist; and while certain folk songs and even old darky music have survived, as the war went on these tended to be superseded by newer compositions. Dialect, songs with dances or that involve much dramatic action, perhaps with costume and impersonation have also had a place. Nicolai claims that war poetry and music are always of an inferior quality, but this war has been a prodigious stimulus to pro-

ductions, at which classicism may be inclined to sneer but which, even if they are Philistine, get in their good work.

We shall never fully realize the importance of music for morale until we see clearly once and for all that psychologically music is *par excellence* the language of the heart, feelings, moods, dispositions, sentiments, emotions, and attitudes; indeed of nearly all our vast unconscious life. It is just as much so as speech is the language of the senses and the intellect and, to a less extent, of the will. Music, then, is the organ of affectivity and hence deals with what is more intangible and imponderable though often far more potent, especially to the group mind, than ideas or concepts. Even nations and races sing out their hearts and reveal in music their deepest and most characteristic traits. Incidentally it should be remembered that song gives voice to our young officers who often so strangely lack it, so much so that to Mr. Lloyd has been assigned the task of developing this use of it. From this its nature, music ought to develop all the classes of sentiment and feeling, and indirectly it tends to strengthen the deeper, unconscious instincts men have in common and to fuse souls together.

French war music has some unique features. By the closing of the theaters and vaudevilles many Parisian artists who lived by the drama were in dire distress, and some of them became ballad singers in cafés and on the streets and squares, and acquired both

vogue and profit. The Parisian was too tense to sit through a play but singers of both sexes wandered about, sang, and sold songs of their own composition. One noted soprano produced *The Marseillaise of the Dead,* which immediately had the greatest popularity. Very many incidents of the war have thus been cast not only into poetry but into song, like that of the boy of seven who was killed by a German because he aimed a wooden gun at him. Thus every sentiment connected with the war has been besung and many of its tragic incidents preserved. Joseph Lee insists that music is one of the very first things to keep soldiers well in body and to maintain their morale at concert pitch, and thus the French have used it. Songs with a sectional appeal are less common in this country than in Germany.

The German soldier music has traits all its own. On the whole the Teutons are more musical and also fonder of harmony and part song. They have hardly a trace of the American passion for beating time or for ragtime. They are also too serious for fun. The Germans sing about death, which the American never does, and thrill at the very word *Deutschland.* They put more *Gemüt* than "pep" into their songs. *Das Volk Steht Auf* describes in a thrilling way the awakening of the people as the storm of war broke over them, and how all became brothers and would die together if need be for the Vaterland. *Erhebet Euch von der Erde* was a trumpet call to the people to arouse, seize their arms, consecrate themselves to the

fearful chance of death, and expect help from the German God. *Das treue deutsche Herz, Kein schönerer Tod auf dieser Welt, Du Deutschland, Des Kriegers Abschied, Des Seemanns Los* illustrate, as their titles indicate, the serious, death-defying spirit of men terribly in earnest.

In the cultivation of music in the army we were unfortunately far behind. The late Major F. A. Mahan, in an official report in 1914 by order of the Secretary of War, said, "All over the world, save in our own country, the necessity of cultivating this force (moral force or morale) is recognized." He found us very deficient. Four years later General Pershing found our bands in France so small that they "failed to serve the purpose of a moral force on the morale of our troops at the front" and recommended (1) an increased personnel, (2) a larger and more logical instrumentation, (3) a consistent method of band training. To this the Chief of Staff responded, and we have now a United States Army Music School such as France achieved under the influence of Napoleon and which the British copied sixty years ago when their Royal Military School of Music was established. Generals Corbin and Bell have advocated singing also as a promoter of morale, and the chief of our army music school, Captain A. A. Clappe, has set forth its needs and functions in a masterly article.[4]

Of poems the war has produced a prodigious num-

[4] *Music as a Moral Force on Morale*, Infantry Journal, March, 1919.

ber in all lands. It is interesting to note that before the close of the second year the Germans had graded and given prizes for the best of some fifty thousand poems by the German children who attempted to woo the Muse of War. The Clark Library has several shelves of bound volumes of war poems, and a few, although of course necessarily premature, attempts have been made to evaluate them and select the best. Both poetry and war stories have played an important rôle in morale, though probably far less than music.

III. *Reading.*—Every home camp had its library and librarians. After the first weeks, when the recruits began to harden, they did considerable reading, and it has been estimated that there were some 45,000 college men in the army.

From answers to a circular I sent to each camp librarian it is interesting to note that despite the surprising difference in camps fiction leads, with tales of adventure and mystery taking the first place. Kipling, Doyle, McCutcheon, O. Henry, Tarkington, Oppenheim, Haggard, London, Wells, H. B. Wright, Mrs. Barclay's *Rosary,* Hornaday's *The Man Who Became a Savage* are samples of favorites. Next to fiction comes the demand for books about France, the French language and literature, and for military subjects, including engineering. Camp examinations brought a call for other classes of books, and indeed literature of almost every type had its patrons. Only books for girls, indecent literature, and German propaganda were barred, and the drive of December, 1917,

brought many gifts. Very little effort, however, was made to guide reading.

My suggestion was that each camp library provide among other literature books describing the conquest of America by Germany, to compensate somewhat for our distance and aloofness by bringing possibilities home to reinforce morale. The chief of these are H. G. Wells' *The War in the Air* (1917), focusing in the battle of New York; Homer Lea's *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909), describing a Japanese invasion of our Pacific coast; J. B. Walker's *America Fallen!* (1915), a very realistic story designed to check our confidence and *laissez faire;* C. Moffett's *The Conquest of America* (1916); T. Dixon's *The Fall of a Nation* (1916), a horrible tale of what might happen here if pacifism prevailed; H. Maxim's *Defenseless America* (1915); and J. W. Muller's *The Invasion of America* (1916).[5] While some of these works are highly imaginative, several of them are written with the coöperation of military and naval experts and describe events that the authors believe might actually happen, the idea being that perusal of work of this class would help us to realize how the French and Belgians do feel.

Soldiers read what others do, but with much difference. It is a good sign that poetry, especially Kipling, Alan Seeger, Tennyson, etc., were much in demand.

[5] On the invasion of England, see Du Maurier's *An Englishman's Home* (1909); E. Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903); Lequex's *The Coming of the Germans to England* (1914); Redmond-Howard's *Hindenburg's March to London* (1916).

Religious reading was less than was predicted. The American Bible Society issued in army and navy editions, from the time we entered the war, about two and one quarter million volumes of the Scriptures, but despite the injunctions of President Wilson and Ex-President Roosevelt to the soldiers to read it, there is a great difference of opinion as to how extensively this was done.

Few read spontaneously to fortify their spirits either against the hardships or dangers of war; more to clarify their convictions of the righteousness of their cause. Hygiene, too, makes some appeal; but, on the whole, the motive of diversion seems to exceed that of practical preparation. Reading anything is a sedative. To feed the new interests aroused by entering military life was a problem the war did not last long enough for us to solve entirely, though we have realized its significant aid to morale. Just how and in what direction to stimulate reading under training-camp conditions is a new, vast problem which librarians have not yet solved.[6]

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[6] T. W. Koch: *War Libraries and Allied Studies*, 287, N. Y., Stechert, 1918. See, too, A. T. Davies: *Student Captives: An Account of the Work of the British Prisoners of War Book Supplement*, Leicester, Stevens, 1917.

CHAPTER V

THE MORALE OF PLACARDS, SLOGANS, DECORATIONS, AND WAR MUSEUMS

I. The origin of pictures and posters and their functions in this war—II. Medals and other insignia of honor in the different countries—III. Museums and collections of various kinds in different lands of mementoes of the war.

I. *Morale and placards.*—When at the outset of the war England was confronted with the problem of raising a vast army as quickly as possible, the Secretary of State for War, Colonel Seely, called upon Mr. Hedley LeBas, a London publisher who had been deeply interested in the psychology and practice of advertising and who was allowed, not without much hesitation in conservative England, *carte blanche* to stimulate enlistment in any way. Some of the best artists were engaged, and a series of about one hundred and fifty posters were soon conspicuously displayed all over Great Britain with a message it was hard to ignore. All agreed that they were a prominent if not the chief factor in raising a volunteer army of over three million men. When and before recruiting was superseded by the draft the same method was applied to war loans, and by its aid over three billion dollars were raised in two weeks. In this country posters, beginning with those of the Marines, have played a great rôle, and many American artists—Blashfield,

Kenyon Cox, Reuterdahl, Gibson, Pennell and others, were enlisted. While our government issued only two posters for the first Liberty Loan, private organizations flooded the country in each drive. All countries have used them for Red Cross, food, the wounded, and indeed every war purpose.

Art in a somewhat stricter sense has also helped military morale by producing many notable pictures and especially series, which have been very important factors.[1] Raemaekers of Holland made his art a potent factor for morale. He produced hundreds of striking anti-Teutonic pictures, and was even charged with jeopardizing the neutrality of Holland, so that the German government is said to have sought him with such persistence that he fled to England.[2] A few French artists have had immense influence and vogue, *e.g.,* Georges Scott, who had followed the Balkan campaign as a reporter-illustrator and who was appointed one of the four official painters to the French armies; also Lucien Jonas, whose remarkable, sometimes allegorical compositions were, like those of Scott, executed at the front. Icart was the first successfully to introduce the airplane, which is a new and awkward topic for canvas. His *Spirit of the Air* and *The Defense of Paris* brought him into instant fame. Many of his pictures illustrated the relations of woman to war. Then there is Levy-Dhurmer, whose pictures are

[1] A. E. Gallatin's *Art and the Great War* (N. Y., 1919), with one hundred illustrations, well sets forth in general the rôle that art played in the war in the various allied countries.

[2] *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment. One Hundred Cartoons.* By Louis Raemaekers, Lond., The Fine Arts Society, 1916.

charming but sad, his best series being perhaps that entitled "Mothers of the War." Poulbot has a hundred pictures illustrating the effects of the war upon children.[3] The French have used art more effectively than any other country for mutilated soldiers. They have also offered prizes to children for pictures, especially those concerning food in war-times.[4]

Thus the war has been a veritable inspiration to scores of artists, and by its aid they have brought home its terrible realities in all its details and have also brought out, perhaps even more effectively than poetry or music have been able to do, the ideality always latent in it. Not until the history of this great conflict has been written up shall we realize to what an amazing extent art has simply been the very incarnation of war morale. Many of these artists have already been decorated, and the end of the war by no means marks the end of their influence or of their work, which the briefest description of some of these masterpieces of emotional appeal, were there space for it here, would itself show.

Closely connected with this work has been the use of titles, slogans, and watchwords, in which the spirit of the war has also been embodied and which are very generally, especially in the posters, connected with pictures. Every country has them. The following are samples:—

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[3] *Des Gosses et des Bonhommes*, Paris, 1918.

[4] Clark University has about 6,000 of these artistic war pictures, including proclamations. See report of the librarian, Louis N. Wilson, *The War Collection at Clark University Library*, October, 1918.

Ils ne passeront pas.

Ne l'en fait pas; on les aura.

Go on or go under.

If you cannot give a life you can save a life.

Don't lag! Follow your Flag!

Picture of a bugler blowing. A vacant space in the ranks. Legend: Fall In!

Soldier pointing to a beautiful landscape. Legend: Isn't This Worth Fighting For?

Soldier with a beckoning finger. An Appeal To You.

Picture of St. George slaying the dragon. Legend: Britain Needs You At Once.

A soldier: Make Us As Proud of You as We Are of Him.

Have you a reason or only an excuse?

You are proud of your pals in the army but what do they think of you?

How will you answer your boy who says, "What did you do in the great war?"

A gray-haired mother saying to her boy, "Go, it is your duty."

A picture of troops in battle almost overwhelmed. Legend: Why Don't They Come?

Picture of Whistler's "Mother." Legend: Fight For Her.

The O'Leary posters.

Picture of pretty Irish colleen pointing to burning Belgian house, and saying, "Will you go or must I?"

Columbia sleeping. Legend: Wake Up America.

Liberty Bell. Ring It Again.

Desperate battle in the background, Uncle Sam in the foreground with drawn sword. Legend: "Hold the Fort for I Am Coming."

If You Can't Enlist, Invest.

Don't Read History; Make It.

American girl in a middy blouse. Gee, I Wish I Was a Man; I'd Join the Navy.

Munitions being loaded labeled "Rush." Legend: Help Deliver the Goods.

Man of the signal corps wigwagging. Legend: He Is Getting Our Country's Signal. Are You?

A soldier on an observation post. Legend: The Country Is Looking for a Fit Man. Are You Fit?

French girl waving the tricolor over the sea. Legend: Come Across and Help Us.

You Come Across or Germany Will.

Boxing match between Uncle Sam and the Kaiser, who has just had an "upper cut." Legend: Be In At The Finish.

Our Hat Is In the Ring; Come In and Put One On.

Shall We Be More Tender With Our Dollars Than With the Lives of Our Sons?

Daddy Is Fighting At the Front For You. Back Him Up. Buy Bonds.

Shall We Conquer or Submit?

A message from the front: When Are The Other Boys Coming?

Picture of Germans plundering a cottage. Legend: Is Your Home Worth Fighting For?

Three Soldiers playing cards in front of a dugout. Legend: Will You Make The Fourth?

Are You Playing the Game?

Obey Your Impulse Now.

Telephone operator at the front calling, "We want more men." Legend: Will You Answer This Call?

How Will You Cheer the Boys Coming Home If You Have Done Nothing?

Picture of a soldier's cap. Legend: If This Cap Fits You, Put It on.

Picture of jolly soldier with full equipment. Legend: Come Along, Boys.

Picture of Lord Roberts. Legend: He Did His Duty. Will You Do Yours?

A bare, muscular arm with clenched fist. Legend: Lend Your Strong Right Arm To The Country.

Every dollar makes the Kaiser holler.

Buy a gun to beat the Hun.

Bondmen now or freemen forever.

A man who won't lend is the Kaiser's friend.

Liberty bond or Liberty bound. Which?[5]

The pithy epigram and the cartoon have done great things in the world but never greater than in this war. Years ago the Toledo fad (which for a time had quite a vogue) of posting a new cardboard motto each day in school was thought to make the chief moral qualities percolate into the deeper regions of the soul.

[5] It is said that the German government early tabooed war pictures that represented doleful scenes, and always required happy faces. Not many of these have yet reached this country but such of them as I have seen, at any rate, very greatly stress the festive side of war.

Christian Science has used this method with its health axioms. Calendars and card posters exhorting to primary virtues were issued in series and posted, with daily or weekly changes, in very many factories and in offices. These apothegms are thought to be hardly less pregnant than Bible texts were once regarded, and they do have not a magical but real psychological efficacy as morale bracers. Posters of all kinds short-circuit books and newspapers, like the old broadsides, and a chapter might be written on posted proclamations in the war. Pictures find their way very effectively into the souls of even those who cannot read. These methods uncap impulses that may be made to spur men on to great decisions, while if the true function of art is to conserve ideality in the world and give to every act its best and not its worst interpretation, we can realize that when war throws men back into the power of their primitive emotions such agencies as these may have all the challenge and arousing power of the most effective of the old battle cries and rallying slogans. It is true that these appeals may have precipitated decisions to enlist or give which were later regretted, and perhaps with good ground. As after revivalistic conversions men may backslide, so in soldiers the high tide that swept them into the army may ebb, but even in such cases part of their total self is committed for the war, and even in the worst cases it is better to have loved these great causes for a time and have lapsed from them than never to have loved them at all.

II. *Medals and Decorations.*—In the *Congressional Record* of July 12, 1917, we have the text of a law relating to the award of "medals of honor" to each person, "officer or enlisted man who shall hereafter in action involving actual conflict with the enemy distinguish himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his own life above and beyond the call of duty." In addition, this law provides for a service medal to be awarded by the President for distinguished service any time during the last three years, and this is to supersede the former certificate of merit. The service medal involves added pay of two dollars a month, and for each additional deed of valor, instead of a new medal, the President may award another bar, each of which bars also brings another two dollars a month.

In France the most coveted of all is the Cross of the Legion of Honor (1802) with a motto, "Honneur et Patrie," and with five grades. Besides its veteran's medal to those who fought in the war of '70, the French Croix de Guerre is given to all officers or privates for deeds of valor, especially on the battlefield (April, 1915). This honors even families, and there is a ritual form of conferring it which also plays a prominent part in funerals. It may be revoked for unworthy conduct. There is also a military medal (1852) for officers who have won distinction, which may be conferred in time of peace, besides many colonial and foreign medals.[6]

[6] A. Saillard and H. Fougerol: *La Croix de Guerre*, 1916.

In England the war medal is comparatively modern and culminates in the Victoria Cross. But there are many types of medals given in all the important wars since these were established, some two score in all.[7]

Germany leads all countries, and since the sixteenth century there have been some 580 different varieties (G. F. Hill: *The Commemorative Medal in the Service of Germany*). Of all these the Iron Cross is the best known and most desired.[8]

The Croix de Guerre has often been awarded to our soldiers in France, and General Pershing says, "Such recognition is a powerful incentive to gallantry in action, and American soldiers should not be denied the privilege of displaying these insignia of honor because of the old prohibition of accepting decorations from a foreign state."

It would seem that from every psychological point of view, and from the higher pedagogy, men who have deliberately risked their lives in desperate ventures for the public good should be recognized as belonging in some sense to the élite, for such deeds are only the culmination of morale. The world honors its dead heroes; why not its living ones? What should also be done is to see to it that each sublime act of courage is duly and worthily recorded that it may exert its due and permanent influence. Such distinctions set a back-fire to the feeling often current among soldiers that their achievements are not sufficiently recognized

[7] W. A. Steward: *War Medals and Their History*, London, Paul, 1915. Also H. T. Dorling: *Ribbons and Medals*, London, Philip, 1916.
[8] Hanns E. Von Zobeltitz: *Das Eiserne Kreuz*, Leipzig, Velhagen, 1914.

and that the government seems to lack gratitude.

III. *Morale and war collections.*—The collection instinct, which is illustrated in the life history of many insects and animals and which is always strong and has often been studied in children, has found unprecedented expressions concerning this war. Many children and schools in all the belligerent countries, many of which already have their war cabinet of curios, have assembled relics and reminders, largely local, of all kinds of material illustrating altogether every phase of the great conflict both at home and at the front. In Germany school prizes were offered for the best poems and compositions. Both were collected by the hundreds of thousands, and awards duly made.

War is such a unique experience that its conditions, sentiments, and activities tend to fade from realization like a bad dream as nothing else can do, for nowhere is the envisagement of full reality so intolerable; and there is a strong instinct, lest we forget, to gather relics and mementoes to keep it alive in our own minds and to ensure the perpetuation of its grim actualities for future generations. War museums of every kind are thus in a sense temples of morale and protests against its obliteration.

This is not the place to describe these vast activities in detail, but a few data will show their scope and their purpose. In the first few days of mobilization Henri Leblanc and his wife began to gather objects in France, and their collection, now numbering nearly one quarter of a million ar-

ticles, has been taken over and given elaborate and fitting quarters by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, and its catalogue is being published volume by volume.[9] England followed suit and established a national war museum under Sir Martin Conway, which is formulated on a very comprehensive plan.[10] Sir Martin estimates that his museum, if properly housed, will require about five acres of ground to exhibit all the apparatus of war that has been accumulated. There is a branch illustrating woman's work, with figurines about ten inches in height showing work not only in hospitals but on the land and in the occupations of men which she filled during the war. The goal is the needs of the future historian, who has no such material at his disposal now concerning, *e. g.,* the Napoleonic or any other wars. The aim is to collect material of first-hand nature—photographs from airplanes, field maps, diaries, photographs of individual soldiers for future anthropology, and there is a State Paper Office containing all kinds of official records. A. G. Doughty, Minister and Director of War Trophies in Canada, is supervising a comprehensive collection of that country illustrating the achievements of every unit, extending even to soldiers' diaries; while the Canadian War Archives Survey devotes itself to every source of information about governmental activities, including not only posters but war money, stamps, proclamations, etc.

[9] Henri Leblanc: *La Grande Guerre; Iconographie, Bibliographie, Documents Divers,* i-iv., Paris, Emile Paul. 1916-18.
[10] See catalogue of *Imperial War Museum,* London (no date).

The great national libraries of Europe and a few libraries in this country have made special collections of war literature, but in all these fields the material is so voluminous that not only most private collectors but heads of great institutions have been discouraged, and it is now recognized that very much of this material is so fugitive that it is beyond reach unless it is gathered very promptly at the time. A really adequate assemblage of all this material can never be found in any single institution or even in any single country. As early as August, 1914, the Imperial Library in Berlin set apart fifteen members of its staff to collect, sort, classify, and catalogue war literature. Agents were sent abroad to all countries, and patriotic appeals were made to private individuals the world over. Early in 1916 there were 10,000 books, and in a single day four and one half tons of newspapers arrived.

The French museum, which so far as objects are concerned excels all others, collects everything: firearms and projectiles of all kinds, uniforms, medals, insignia, postcards, war fashions in dress at home, illustrations of everything connected with feeding the army as well as home dietaries and food substitutes, trench journals, processes of manufacture and transportation of munitions and supplies, army wagons, transports, Zeppelins, airplanes, submarines, soldiers' letters, posters, slogans, knapsacks, grenades, Minnenwerfers, gas masks and generators, innumerable photographs of devastated regions and wrecked

buildings, of atrocities, mutilations and corpse-strewn battlefields, flags, and scrap-books. Dolls and figurines are used to illustrate many processes. There is a department for camouflage and protective coloring generally, engineering, gas alarm gongs, trench signs, street-lamp shades to conceal from airplanes, explosive pencils, means of infecting the enemy and his animals with disease, infernal machines, bombs, devices for incendiarism and looting. Very complete is the representation of medical activities, pictures and documents showing all the marvels of surgery,—even the details of how features and parts of the face torn away are restored,—how to treat every kind of wound, artificial limbs, disinfection, uses of the Carrel processes and of the Dakin fluid, tents, and sanitary barracks. Sometimes the illustrations are by models, but when possible the objects themselves are displayed. We have also a German plan which is hardly less complete, but I can find no data to show how far this work has actually been developed there.

Indeed the work of nearly all museums has been more or less stimulated and diverted. In museums of Natural History, for example, it is shown how killing birds that destroy noxious insects and weed seeds helps the enemy, so that a boy who robs the nest of such a bird is a traitor without knowing it; for insects are as harmful as bullets. The same is true of keeping down rodents that destroy one hundred million dollars' worth of food here per year, and we may need Lib-

erty Bonds to pay tribute to the mosquito, gypsy moth, English sparrow, etc. One museum specializes on dyestuffs, designs, native foods, and fabrics significant for war. Some have done research, others have invoked the aid of children. One attends chiefly to trademarks, while there are many collections of cartoons.

The romance of war in the days of chivalry has gone, and the concept that dominates everything now is efficiency, which gives a new ideal even to art. It has been suggested that a rudimentary Westminster or Walhalla be established in every town or county, containing medals, portraits, and a vellum volume with the name and the significant items in the life of every fallen soldier. This would be an epitome of local heroism, and would help to perpetuate the memory and influence particularly of those who have gone to a watery grave and whose bodies must remain unidentified. These would be perpetual incentives to self-sacrifice and would give zest to local history teaching.

The necessity of such collections for the future historian is obvious. The interest of the public in them is shown by the fact that admission fees to the Henri Leblanc collection in the Pavilion de Flore, it is estimated, will bring a revenue of some half a million francs a year. But their chief value for morale is that the very awfulness and unnaturalness of war tend to make its memory shrink and fade, so far as proper realization of it is concerned, to a degree that perhaps only a psychologist can realize. To-day the world

with one accord has swung over from the war fever to its opposite, and the desire for peace was never so strong. The function of these collections is to perpetuate this reaction by keeping the memory of all the ghastliness of war green, by keeping before the public mind what we owe to our soldiers, to whose deeds and sufferings such collections are one of the most fitting monuments, and to supply artists and writers of all kinds with details that would otherwise soon be lost. If, as some claim, human nature after a long period of peace tends to revert to a state of war, familiarity with these objects would tend in some degree to vicariate for the actuality of war and, if it comes, would also tend to nerve the souls of our descendants to its hardships and vicissitudes.

CHAPTER VI

MORALE, SEX, AND WOMEN

I. Morale and sex in war—The effects of war upon this instinct—Governmental prophylaxis—Moralizing methods in camp—II. What women have done and can do to sustain morale—Their attitude toward the soldier.

I. *Morale and sex.*—This has always been as vital as it is a delicate problem with soldiers in camp and in field, in peace and in war. The Vienna surgeon, Billroth, long ago gave us a graphic account of the introduction of syphilis into Europe by the soldiers that returned from Mexico soon after the discovery of America, and told us how the infection spread like a plague before the always slow but sure development of at least partial immunity which time brings. Where soldiers are gathered not only do lewd women congregate, but such is the fascination of the uniform that there is always a great increase of free liaisons with previously pure girls.[1] The German policy is to assume that there will be irregularities and to instruct every soldier in the use of preventive and prompt curative measures and to rely but little upon moral prophylaxis. In England and this country preventive methods and moral suasion are more relied upon, and

[1] See another somewhat unique French relation of the sexes in H. de Vismes: *Histoire Authentique et Touchante des Marraines et Filieuls de Guerre* (Paris: Perrin, 1918), and for a worse side see G. A. Schreiner: *The Iron Ration*, XIX (N. Y.: Harper, 1918).

the infected soldier is compelled and sometimes coerced by penalties to report promptly for treatment. With us there is still shame enough so that this acts as a deterrent, and we have more faith than the Germans in admonition and warning to keep men straight.

War is, in a sense, the acme of what some now call the manly protest. In peace women have invaded nearly all of the occupations of man, but in war male virtues come to the fore, for women cannot go "over the top." Some have even ascribed one of the fascinations of soldiering to the half-conscious satisfaction men feel that here they have escaped female competition and found a field in which their own activities can have free course without the rivalry of the other sex. We may at least hope that the world will not have to conserve war as the only field which woman has not entered and where alone man can cultivate the qualities that distinguish him from the other sex. The two chief elements in human nature are: (1) Individuation, which bottoms on hunger and which in the first dozen years of life prevails; and (2) genesis or the transmission of life to future generations, about which the home and so many other institutions of society center. It seems that in war the first of these tendencies is chiefly stressed. The Freudian theory that general anxiety, out of which all the phobias, most neuroses, and about all psychoses evolve, can always ultimately be traced to some flaw in the *vita sexualis* has been refuted often by the experiences of shell shock, which is always connected not with sex

or race but with the instinct of self-preservation.

Our government very wisely made often rather drastic conditions, first for the location of camps and afterwards for their regimen, with a view to minimizing the dangers from this source. A five- and in some cases a ten-mile zone of purity was drawn about the cantonment, and in every camp some special instruction was given. When a man has drilled and worked eight or twelve hours a day he is little prone at night to go any great distance to satisfy his fleshly instinct, and fatigue has sometimes been specially cultivated as a safeguard.

Now, war involves the most intense of the activities of both body and mind, and we know now that chastity and self-control are essential prerequisites in enabling men to undergo all kinds of war strain. We do not understand precisely how the hormones from the sex organs find their way to the higher centers, but it is certain that they do and that those guilty of self-indulgence have less reserve to draw upon for any emergency. Sex is the most capable of metamorphosis of any human instinct, and the study of sex perversions and erotic fetishes shows that it can become associated with almost any object or any act. Erethic symptoms may be connected with almost anything so that it may cause excitement. Even fervent prayer and other religious exercises and experiences may excite it; and it has no end of surrogates in the imagination of which it is the greatest of all stimulators. The soldier, like the pugilist training for a

championship bout, from the standpoint of the higher hygiene really ought to, and does entirely forego, for the time being, the exercise of the procreative function. It should by every means be held in abeyance. The reciprocal relation between it and intensive activity of body and mind is shown by the fact that those who suffer most from war strain are very often impaired in their quality of parenthood. This conclusion of eugenics now rests upon data that can hardly be disputed, although we are certain in the near future to know much more about it in detail. Nicolai even states that he cannot find one of the great men of the world who was sired by a soldier who had been through severe campaigns.

Again, all, and especially young people, need excitement. They crave and seek it, and in forbidden ways if normal and legitimate ones are not open to them. The young man longs to tingle and glow, to let himself go until he feels something within take him up and carry him along with a strength not his own. In some cases an explosion of anger has cleared the air like a thunder storm and brought "the peace that passeth understanding" afterwards. An ebullition of fear or any other strong emotion brings a kind of reenforcement. The psychology of alcohol shows that most people drink for the heightened vitality of mind or body that it brings, rather than for the mere physical pleasure of imbibing liquor. If, therefore, we wish to establish the condition where sex excitement is liable to break out and pass beyond all control, we

have only to make life dull, uninteresting, monotonous, and especially to take out of it all strenuous endeavor. Thus again we can see how war of all the occupations of man, because it is the most exciting and the most strenuous, makes not only possible but imperative for its supreme success the highest degree of chastity.

In point of fact, however, war in the past seems to have tended to the opposite result. The very increase of vigor that drill and camp activity and regimen impose predisposes to temptation. Moreover, there is a deep, old racial instinct that finds partial expression in the phrase, "None but the brave deserve the fair." Primitive man and even animals often engaged in their most violent conflicts for females, who were the reward of victory, and this has been a potent factor in making the best survive. It is thus that the strongest have left progeny. There is nothing that the female, human or animal, more admires or finds more seductive than the prowess that wins a conflict, for that means the power of defense and protection of herself and her young. Thus it is that soldiers on leave have to meet special temptations.

Moreover, the very hardships and brutalities of war, the harshness of discipline, and the exhaustion of training and encounters tend to ebb ambivalently so that the soldier feels that he has, in a sense, earned the right to self-indulgence and instinctively turns to the more tender and now more alluring companionship of the other sex.

Again, war always tends to loosen family bonds. It brings perhaps a long separation of husband and wife, and hence former moral restraints tend to relax, so that we now have new theories galore that look toward greater license. Lapses tend more or less to be condoned. The tempter has a larger field at home, and the man in the field, perhaps realizing this, allows himself unwonted liberties. Eugenic theories are sometimes invoked, and perhaps never was the whole subject of the relation of the sexes more open in the secret thoughts and hearts of men and women in ways that have sometimes found expression in speech and print so shocking to more conservative minds. The very tension of absence and abstinence makes the mind more open, not merely to dreameries but to theories that vicariate for the new restraints and the new temptations.

In view of these conditions what does morale in this field demand? I reply:

1. Perhaps first of all that the very closest relation be maintained with home and with friends. Mother, sister, sweetheart, and wife now have the opportunity and incentive to make their influence more effective in keeping the absent son, brother, lover, and husband loyal and pure. They should realize this responsibility and exert it to the uttermost, and "keep the home fires burning" in the heart of the soldier by every means in their power,—by frequent and wise letters, gifts and reminders,—and make him feel that the family ties. however far they have been

stretched, are not broken nor can they be broken.

2. Camp activities not immediately connected with war have perhaps the second place. Real and especially active interest in camp music, in the camp library, in dramatics and every kind of entertainment, incentives to learn the French language and geography, to peruse war literature, and, perhaps best of all, to carry on any line of study to which the educated soldier may have been devoted—all these have their place here. Best of all are athletic games and contests. Everyone who has a specialty of any kind that can interest others or stimulate competition, or make him feel himself more useful has also a salutary, alterative function.

3. In place of direct instruction ("highbrow smut-talks"), which has little effect, there have been a few brief leaflets that must have been very effective. The medical examiner and subordinate officers can, if informed of, or awake to their opportunities, often drop side remarks in the most incidental way, which the soldier seizes with avidity because he does not consider that they are aimed at him. The best occasion for this is during the physical examination when the question is whether the recruit "strips well." We should remember that in the field of sex the briefest hint, which could ideally be dropped as if its author were entirely unconscious of its significance, will be understood and assimilated most uniquely. Sex teaching is not like teaching a school subject, as so many of the swarm of men and women who have lately

written upon it assume. The principle should be *verbum sapientis sat,* and nothing is more offensive to a healthy soul than to read or hear the platitudes spun to such tedious length as in several scores of books of this character which I have collected during the last quarter of a century. The physician is far more effective here than the clergyman or the Y. M. C. A. man. A physical trainer in one of our largest colleges, who has had a score of years' experience, tells me that in single remarks which he makes it a point casually to throw out at the moment he has a student stripped for measurements, he believes he has done more good than in all the stated lectures it has been his duty to give.

4. Scare-talks on the dangers of infection no doubt did once, and still in some cases do have great effect, but there is little new here now even to the average private, and familiarity with this sort of thing has immunized the souls of most so that it has little effect. The ideal, too, of keeping oneself pure for the sake of wife or posterity still has its effect, although this has perhaps of late been rather overworked. Its appeal ought, of course, to be very strong. Dissuasion on religious grounds probably counts with more soldiers, and here we must admit that the priest has shown himself in general far more effective than the Protestant clergyman. I believe that the most effective appeal of all, however, can be made on the basis of bodily and mental perfection. Every young man has athletic interests, and if he can

be shown that purity is the best way of keeping the body at the very top of its condition and of laying in a larger store of reserves against every emergency, an essential step is taken to make him a practical idealist in this field. But we must not forget that the chief reliance will always have to be placed upon diversions and physical regimen, because we are dealing here with an urge that has its origin and deploys largely far below the threshold of consciousness. At no point does morale coincide more closely with morality. As transcendental sanctions are losing their power, we must build up on a natural basis a new prophylaxis and be able to show that anything is right or wrong according as it is physiologically *and socially* right or wrong, and precisely this the new sex psychology is now engaged in doing.

5. Only the few intelligent officers or graduates will find help, and they will find great aid for themselves and for a few of their more intelligent friends whom they can influence, in the new and larger interpretation of sex that psychanalysis has revealed. Normality of the function that transmits life involves more and more emphasis upon secondary sex qualities; more spiritualization of sex; a realization that moral, social, religious, and intellectual life, and not only that but sanity, emotional, volitional, and intellectual, depend upon the proper regulation of this function. War is lost or won chiefly upon the development of secondary sex qualities, and this principle roots deep and blossoms high.

II. *Woman and morale.*—Never have women played such a part in war.[2] We are told that in all the warring countries they have done more work than men with munitions, food and especially the canned varieties, hospital and surgical appliances, and have also taken man's place in almost every peaceful industry. Her enfranchisement in many aspects of this great movement has advanced by leaps and bounds since the war began. It has also opened as never before the whole question of the relation of the sexes in all its aspects. The mobilization of woman power and its substitution for man power has given her an equal place in the sun. She can now or will soon be able to cast a ballot and be a citizen in practically every country in Europe as well as in every American state. If, however, she had the opportunity to and could do everything as well as man, or better, and did not bring her woman's viewpoint into the new paths and functions now open, all this would mean nothing save doubling our lists of voters and workers. She would

[2] See Ida Clyde Clarke: *American Women and the World War*, 544, N. Y.: Appleton, 1918; Harriot S. Blatch: *Mobilizing Woman-Power*, 194, N. Y.: The Woman's Press, 1918; Henry Spont: *La Femme et la Guerre*, 268, Paris: Perrin, 1916; J. Combarieu: *Les Jeunes Filles Françaises et la Guerre*, 297, Paris: Flammarion, 1915. Helen Fraser: *Women and War Work*, 308, N. Y.; Shaw, 1918. Irene O. Andrews: *Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain*, 190, N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1918. Gertrude Atherton: *The Living Present*, 303, N. Y.: Stokes, 1917; Lady Randolph Churchill, Editor: *Women's War Work*, 159, London: Pearson, 1916.

A student of this subject must give a prominent place also to the unique cult of Jeanne d'Arc that broke out in France some years before the war and has been greatly heightened by it. *La Pucelle* has now a national holiday in which the descendants of the very Englishmen who fought against France in those days now join (see in W. Stephens: *The France I Know*, Chapter XIV, The Cult of Jeanne d'Arc).

have won nothing if she did not realize and now say that the advent of her sex into industrial and political life must materially change its character and goal. Hence the vital problem in this her great epoch is to introduce the best traits of her sex into public and economic life.

Woman is nearer to the race in body and soul and is a better representative of the species than man. She is more phylogenetic than ontogenetic, more altruistic than egoistic. She stands for the future and the past and is charged with the interests of posterity in a very different sense and degree from man. The true woman ranks and grades every human institution according to its service in producing and rearing successive generations to an ever more complete maturity. We need to understand and appreciate in conscious plans what woman more unconsciously always and everywhere chiefly wants, viz., an environment most favorable for her great function of conserving and replenishing the race. Because she is more generic than man and more liable to be injured by excessive and premature specialization, she needs more shelter and protection and responds subtly to everything of this kind. Hence it comes that if she is denied the normal expression of her basal instincts she is liable to become frivolous or anxious, to immolate herself by becoming a slave or devotee to some cause, or to fall a victim to the many types of subtle invalidism to which she is so liable.

Thus the new post-bellum world should be more of

a woman's world, not in the sense of the old matriarchate but in a way that will bring to her and her apostolate for the race a new reverence. These are the real woman's rights. It is thus her task to re-evaluate the world and all its institutions—business, trade, state, church, science—by the supreme test of their service in bringing future generations to an ever more complete maturity. Thus we must regard the voice of Ellen Key and those who agree with her as more or less oracular as to what woman needs, wants, and can and should try to do for the morale of this great reconstruction era.

When the war came, the noblest war brides, mothers, sweethearts, and sisters said, "Go!"[3] They condemned slackers ("If I had not gone I could not get near a girl"). Mothers wept, but secretly, and dared not to try to restrain their even young boys who felt the call, but sent them off with a blessing and a cheer. Many wives took up the struggle of self-support, perhaps accepting charity for the first time, and the best husbands and sons understood later, though some of them did not at first. Women kept up every possible connection between their dear ones at the front and their home, concealing everything that could cause pain and showing only courage and good cheer, disguising everything that was bad or discouraging, slow to criticize but swift to praise and hearten, and themselves bearing up if their loved ones were wounded,

[3] R. W. F.: *Silver Lining. The Experiences of a War Bride*, 45, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1918; also *Boy of My Heart*, 221, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916.

crippled, or even slain, with a composure and heroism which none, least of all they themselves, dreamed they possessed. The reveries of a happy home-coming, dreams sometimes not to be realized, are often the chief consoler in hardships at the front, where home is idealized as nowhere else.

And now women must take up the burden of replenishing the earth, of making good the loss of the seven million dead and the far more partially incapacitated which the war has caused. The inequality of the sexes thus occasioned will soon be restored, for statistics show that in hard times more boys than girls are born. The war sentiment will now make it harder for healthy women to refuse wedlock and motherhood and to be slackers to this call, for the pains of war make those of childbirth seem small by contrast. For this service women must volunteer, for we trust we shall never have drafts for motherhood, such as were wrongly ascribed to the Bolsheviki. The revolt of woman, the organization of which has actually been attempted, against giving to the world sons who are going to be cannon fodder is not so unnatural, for why should one rear children only to be sacrificed to the war Moloch, world without end? But she now has more hope than ever before in the world to encourage her to face this chance, trusting that her children's children, at least, will be supermen of peace and make an end of war forever. It is the generals of peace now at the helm who ought to be inspired by the ideal morale of women to make a world such as she will count

it her noblest honor and privilege to populate. If eugenics is to be the religion of the future, as Galton said, women will be its priestesses, for the world a century or two hence will belong to those races and nations that bear and rear the most and the best children.

Perhaps the much debated *Ewige Weibliche* may now take more definite shape as the best embodiment of morale in the world. Anthropologists have told us much of the primitive reverence of the seer-like, intuitive, prophetic traits of women, and perhaps we might now properly lay a single tiny twig of laurel upon the grave of Auguste Comte for the place he gave woman in his *Politique*. We can also recognize the deep human instinct that prompted the French revolutionists to make the cult of her divinity a religion, for as great upheavals of society throw men back upon first principles and lay bare the fundamental if unconscious instincts, there is a profound tendency to make the more naïve soul of womanhood oracular because her soul, like that of the child, seems nearer to that of the great *Autos* itself.

The danger as the war closes is that women who have been so dazzled by its splendors that they are now rarely pacifists, when they find themselves in bitter competition for jobs with the home-coming soldiers whom they have idealized and who perhaps will be even more ruthless and unchivalrous toward them in this domain because the horrors of war have made them a little more callous, will be more or less disen-

chanted with them and with life.[4] The demobilization of the great auxiliary armies of women raises, therefore, the question of what substitutes for the excitements of war-work they can find in peace, and what mitigations or consolations may be found in this new aspect of the war of sex against sex. Is there not danger that each will to the other be robbed of some of the glamour with which war has invested them both in the eyes of the other? This would be disastrous, not only economically but socially, and would not be in the interests of wedlock or eugenics, nor indeed of morals themself. I can see no way of entirely avoiding this danger, which seems to me grave, but we can at least hope that the new psychology, which is most opportunely at the door and which stresses the all-dominance of unconscious and affective forces, and which might almost be heralded as the advent of the Womansoul into psychology, will in time mitigate this danger and slowly evolve a new atmosphere of appreciation and respect of woman's services in every walk of life, which will give her the spiritual *milieu* without which she is so prone to go to pieces. If in utilizing the new opportunities that suffrage in about all the warring countries brings to her, she can make herself in this the greatest crisis in the history of her sex more womanly and not more manlike, she will, as the world slips back into peace, do most to make it a new and better one.

[4] Martin Secker: *Women*, 128, London: 1918.

CHAPTER VII

WAR AIMS AND KNOWLEDGE

I. The need of soldiers to know what they are fighting for—II. The three stages of news-getting by the American Press—Censorship—The German system of espionage and some methods of propaganda—The great need in this country of better knowledge of the world's events.

I. *War aims.*—Sagacious men saw even before we entered the conflict the great need of setting before the minds of the public, and especially the soldier, just what we were fighting for. President Wilson has done perhaps his best service in suggesting these goals. The philosophers of idealism, like Hocking, criticize the attitude of *e. g.,* Eltinge, who would rely more on unconscious, instinctive crowd impulses to give men the fighting edge. As a result of all this effort the mind of the intelligent soldier has come to realize more and more that we were the leader of the world's democracy, that we were fighting a war of liberation against autocracy and militarism; and there can be no doubt that the efficiency of our soldiers was greatly increased by this general belief.

But specific, conscious aims belong rather to the preliminary or to the subsequent reflective stages of warfare, and on the ragged edge of battle it is the momentum given by ideas which, while a very important factor, is of less consequence than impulses that

spring from the instincts of self-preservation, pugnacity, gregariousness, our preliminary beliefs, the general set of the will, fear, anger, etc. Even the conscientious objector in the charge has to fight, and very few can stand out long against the all-compelling sentiment of the crowd.

It was perhaps fortunate for us that we did not plunge into the war more precipitately because all the time we were planning and preparing, public sentiment was being educated and opinion was being formed by leaps and bounds, and this was the change that made possible our own wonderful achievements in the end. The war was so big, we were so uninformed about European conditions, our press had to undergo such an intensive self-education in order to meet the emergency, that the problem of realizing what we were up against was a tremendous one. This education, however, has made us forever and in a new sense a member of the nations of the Old World. Our intellectual and even our material interests have undergone an enormous and unprecedented expansion. We can never return to our old blindness and provincialism. Even if the Monroe Doctrine is imperiled we are destined henceforth to be not only an integral but a leading member of the family of nations. Not only that, but Europe looks to us with a respect and a degree of newly felt dependence that no one could have dreamed of even three years ago.

It has been an inspiration at home and was a great and unpredictable factor in the European settlement

that our aims were, in a sense, disinterested. True, we profited enormously by European contracts, and without doubt we would have supplied Germany no less freely had this been practicable. But the fact that we wanted no land, no indemnities, gave enormous sums, and prepared our huge army and suffered our own share of losses, that it was all a free gift to a great cause, elevated the morale of not only our army but of the country and of the world by a spectacle unprecedented in history. It is this that gave us an opportunity for a new world leadership which, if Congress and the press have the vision to see and to utilize to the uttermost, will be the acid test of their own patriotic sagacity. The problem before the country now is: Shall we enter upon this new leadership to which we seem to be called, and can we make ourselves worthy of it?

II. *Morale and knowledge.*—The psychology of evidence, started experimentally by Binet and Stern and applied by many legal writers to testimony, shows how hard it is for the most honest observers to state accurately the most indifferent facts. Dramatic incidents prepared and enacted as a class-room exercise and described by onlookers are reproduced by individuals of the class with great differences, even in essentials, and where oral statements are given and reported by a series of persons, they come back to their source with changes directly proportional to the number of minds through which they have passed. When strong emotions are excited, facts are still more

distorted and rumors run very wildly, for the critical faculty is in abeyance and the mob mind often shows a credulity that is almost unlimited. The early stages of the war abounded in fantastic, sometimes almost panicky reports in all countries, especially during and just after mobilization when the public on the street was so eager for information that if it was not forthcoming it was supplied by the imagination; and sometimes suggestibility was so intense that delusions were common, as, for example, in the "Angels of Mons," the apparition of which the English Psychic Research Society has found various witnesses who testified on oath to seeing. Many believed that 180,000 Russian soldiers were transported secretly by sea from Vladivostok to England and thence to France. The Germans believed so intensely that a yellow automobile was going through their country from France to Russia loaded with money that such vehicles were stopped, and in a few cases their drivers were shot. Every stranger was liable to be suspected and even arrested as a spy, and in all the European countries warnings were issued against talking of the war in public. A long list of often preposterous tales won wide credence. In times of great excitement all are prone to believe what they wish, and overdrawn feelings tend very strongly to create if they cannot find facts to justify them.

As to press censorship, it passed through three rather distinct stages. Hundreds of correspondents with little preliminary knowledge of European af-

fairs and sometimes of continental languages were rushed to the scene of war, and, affronted that military authorities weighed out all scraps of information to them as carefully as if they were diamonds, and as the American reporters especially were pressed by their home newspapers for "snappy stuff," they not only sought in every way to get by the censor but some became free-lances, and a few yielded more or less to the temptations of fakerism. Some American papers exposed themselves all too justly to the charges of mendacity (See F. Koester's *The Lies of the Allies*), and we had such headlines as "Eleven German Warships Sunk," "Kaiser Loses Two-Thirds of His Army in Poland; His Sons Escape in Airplane," "Von Kluck's Army Is Taken." This was the first stage of reporting, which ended about the time of the fall of Antwerp. Then almost with one accord the warring nations shut down on reporters and gave the public only their own very brief official reports, which the great news bureaus used as best they could. This W. G. Shepherd calls the period of the dark ages. In the third stage the reporter was allowed to live in a certain area and was given, perhaps each day, his daily bread of news at headquarters, and was also allowed to travel and see for himself within certain limits. But everything he sent had to be submitted to the official censor; if he attempted to evade this ruling he might be punished by dismissal. Thus military interests dominated his work and almost anything could be suppressed. The reporter was no longer marooned but was silenced if he transgressed. By

this method the British kept the first battle of Ypres a secret from the world for several months. The *Times* could not print for months the account of the first Zeppelin raid, although its own building was damaged. Thus the reporter in the later stages of the war was no longer a prisoner but was in close touch with the War Office, could make almost daily trips officially prepared for him, often even up to the firing line, and so according to his own initiative could know and tell much about the front. But everything he sent had to be censored first. The best of these reporters have educated themselves and the public very rapidly and well, and our leading dailies have grown in these four years vastly less provincial and more cosmopolitan, although there has yet been no concerted movement to gather news systematically by placing qualified correspondents in all the great centers of the world to give readers at home a preliminary sketch of history, which is everywhere now being made so rapidly. Thus the cultivated American might yet fervently use many of the phrases in Ajax's famous prayer for more light.

In Germany the military censorship of the press, which is always rigorous, became vastly more so at the outset of the war, and as early as July 31, 1914, a long list of forbidden subjects was published. Every few days military orders were given as to what could and could not be printed, and many papers were suppressed for various lengths of time, without a hearing, and the editor perhaps imprisoned or forced into

the auxiliary service. Every governmental bureau had absolute authority concerning the publicity of its doings. The future of Alsace-Lorraine, labor troubles, hard living conditions, and war aims could not be discussed by order of the "high command." Despite the constitution Reichstag speeches were mutilated, and some deputies had to submit their speeches to the censor in advance, without mentioning that they had done so. Separate peace with Russia was also under the ban. In addition to suppression and gagging there was much "inspired" material, which was standardized and which the papers had to print. The German journals were allowed to use only one version, *e. g.,* of the Jutland "victory," the Zeppelin raids, and Belgian deportations. News was also doctored; in President Wilson's address of April 2, 1917, half the text, including "the world must be made safe for Democracy" was deleted by Wolff, and also the passages declining compensation and expressing friendliness for the German people. J. G. Randall has compiled many incidents of downright fabrication. The same items were served up differently for Belgium and Russia, and everything that happened or was said in all countries favorable to Germany was featured. Thus the German press in general has become since the outbreak of the war even more "reptilian" than Bismarck called it. All this is especially done in the interests of morale. The War Office decides what the soldier and the public shall know and not know, for news is a war asset that ranks next to munitions.

Another aspect of this subject is found in the system of espionage and methods of getting intelligence as to the doings and intentions of the enemy in order to avoid surprise. On the one hand every purpose and movement is disguised in every way, and strategy consists largely in misleading the enemy; while on his side he must develop and use every possible agency to learn beforehand just what to expect, for only thus can the supreme disaster to morale in actual fighting, viz., surprise, be avoided. Thus it is that the successful spy is a hero on his own side but worthy of every indignity, torture, and perhaps death if he falls into the hands of the enemy. André, whom Washington hanged in 1780, now reposes in Westminster Abbey. Captain Lody, after remarkable exploits, when tried by court-martial in Camera, revealed all his instructions but not names, was loyal to the end, and said before he was shot that his trial was a model of fairness. Very few in this country and even in Europe before Paul Lanoir's book (and Dr. Burch's *Notebook, The Active Service Police in the War of* 1866–70, Walheim's *Indiscretions,* Zernicki's *Recollections,* and the famous Mesmard pamphlet of 1901) realized what this system meant in Germany. Even in 1810 there were 30,000 German spies of both sexes in France. Frederick the Great said, "I have one cook and a hundred spies." Spies in Germany are respected. They are of all grades and found in all professions. Men are entrapped by the Krausse houses, and Stieber (1818–1892), the originator of the present

system, was a genius of originality and trickery. Everyone was watched, even spies themselves, and of course every court in Europe. Stieber was a friend of the king and of Bismarck, who called him "the great reptile." His agents secured the personal safety of the Czar at German spas, and allowed an assassin, whose plans they knew beforehand, to shoot at Alexander III in Paris; they then arrested him, as this procedure suited Bismarck's purpose. In 1866 Bismarck approved the plan of invading France in advance of the German army by introducing 4,000 agriculturists and 8,000 domestics, so that the road by which Moltke's army marched into France was strewn beforehand with spies, some 30,000 in all. Stieber studied each commander, the opinion of each district, provided in advance for the lodgment of the German army, working with children, the sick, and the poor, as well as with the press. He insisted that the German invaders were led by his army. During the Franco-Prussian War the expense of this secret poplice system was 783,000 pounds, a part of which was paid to strike leaders in France. Engineers, too, were spies and at a signal disorganized traffic. They preyed upon every expression of industrial unrest and made common cause with anarchists. Whenever there was a rumor of friction between France and Germany they fomented strikes, paid money for elections, worked with all kinds of parasites and wastrels and all who were "down and out," and provided sources of income for those in debt. Many were

drummers, and some wore the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Jules Favre in 1870 engaged Stieber himself in disguise as a servant. These spies are sycophants, money-lenders, they are found in every drawing-room, and have a system of letters innocent on their surface but every phrase of which has its key for interpretation. Stieber claimed that the conquest of France in 1870 was due more to his pioneer work than to Moltke's army. Germany now spends more than a million pounds a year for this secret service. The system has lately spent most of its energy in Russia with results which the world knows.

The remedies are, first, a growth of public opinion based on realization of the danger, and a revision of laws. The allied nations have contented themselves for the most part with detecting and punishing spies, and have not generally approved the development of a counter system of espionage. None, so far as known, has organized a scheme in Germany like that which the Germans have developed in other countries, for it would not be thought honorable by public opinion and would conflict with our national ideals of morale. It is due to this system in Germany and its almost total absence in England that the latter was so taken by surprise and was at a disadvantage at the outset of the war, so that the lives of many thousands of her best young men were lost. On the whole we cannot escape the inquiry whether as we had to meet gas by gas, submarines by submarines, we should not also have henceforth secret agents in Germany to keep our

authorities informed, far more intimately than our press is able to do, of what is actually taking place there. If this wounds our national honor we could console ourselves with the fact that our active espionage would be entirely in the interests of preparedness and defense and not with a view to offensive action.

The mails have been a very effective war weapon, and to examine them is to discover and frustrate the enemy's plans, restrict their supplies, and impair their capacity. Some letters favor acts of violence, such as incendiarism and sabotage; others deal with the supply of vital material; while a third class is connected with propaganda. It is as necessary to check espionage as to forestall seditious literature. In England thirty to fifty thousand telegrams and some four hundred cablegrams passed the censor every twenty-four hours. Many of these were in code and a vast body of useful information was gathered by these "eyes of the blockade" and also, what is no less important, withheld from the enemy. In London the censoring force numbered 3,100. It was a new institution and so Liverpool founded a training school for these experts under Colonel Tody, which handled nearly 400,000 items in twenty-four hours. The postal censorship service cost England $3,350,000 a year.

Another great department is to shape and influence public opinion by means of propaganda. This, like espionage, is very elaborately and very expensively organized departmentally in Germany, which has spent millions monthly in Russia and the story of

which in other allied countries has been so successfully unearthed and checked. This is not the place to describe in detail its methods, which are of profound interest to psychology.[1] Every device has been resorted to. New books have been bound in old covers and under misleading titles, leaflets and even forms have been inserted in purely scientific books and journals, so that the importation of all these into this country was for more than two years, we think unwisely, held up from our universities and libraries by England. Seditious articles have been printed in some of the papers and in many of the journals in this country which appear in a foreign language. In the vast censorship museum of Great Britain are thousands of objects illustrating these arts of "getting by." Special systematic attempts were made to stir up the natives of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore.

In the official Bulletin of February 4, 1918, we find the scope and activities of Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information, which went to our 3,000 papers. These, with no compulsory censorship, have so marvelously responded to a gentleman's agreement to print nothing of advantage to the enemy, such as

[1] See, for example: Horst Von der Goltz: *My Adventures as a German Secret Agent*, 288, N. Y., McBride, Nast, 1917. A. K. Graves: *The Secrets of the German War Office*, 286 N. Y., McBride, Nast, 1914. Leon Daudet: *L'Avant Guerre*, 312, Paris, Nouv. Lib. Nat., 1915. Louis Rouquette: *La Propaganda Germanique aux Etats-Unis*, 154, Paris, Chapelot, 1916. Hamil Grant: *Spies and Secret Service*, 320, London, Richards, 1915. Theodore Roosevelt: *The Foes of Our Own Household*, 347, N. Y., Doran, 1917. William H. Skaggs: *German Conspiracies in America, from an American Point of View*, Lond., Unwin, 1915. Roger B. Wood: *The German Spy in America*, 256, Lond., 1917, with an introductory note by ex-President Roosevelt. *The German Spy System in France*, Tr. from the French of Paul Lanoir, 1910.

troop movements, defenses, and embarkations, that we have had almost no official press censorship. Our bureau has sought chiefly to influence public opinion at home, among our allies, and also with the enemy. It has used many million dollars' worth of free space for advertising, prepared and used movies, has had an airplane service to distribute circulars behind the lines, and for all these activities has only two hundred and fifty paid employees, for there are five thousand volunteers and several times that number of public speakers. It has issued a few pamphlets of very diverse quality, and in addition to its Division of Syndicate Features has one of Foreign Language Newspapers and also Photographs.

From these very bare and large outlines we can see that in war times the control of news is a factor of inestimable significance for morale. In the trench and at home the soldier, especially the American soldier, as well as the citizen, craves to know just what is going on, and if he is left in ignorance, tension and fear are harder on him than envisagement of even bad news. If he believes that he has been really told the worst and that nothing has been kept back he is satisfied; he can pardon many things easier than concealment of fact he feels he has a right to and ought to know, and if he is surprised by something utterly unforeseen he is liable to lose his balance. He has amazing power to adjust and react efficiently in any situation that he can clearly see, however desperate it may be. Just as the democratic world is now de-

manding the abolition of all secret treaties, so the soldier demands to be taken into the confidence of his officers and to glimpse the larger strategy in which his unit is called on to play its part. Psychology can realize even more fully than democracy is yet able to do not only the negative side of the dangers of reservation and concealment but the great positive accession of energy that comes where the soldier feels that he participates in knowledge not only of the facts but of the purposes of the high command. To be told beforehand that there is grave danger in an enterprise, and to be shown something of its reasons and relations to the success of a plan goes a great way toward giving him the nerve to carry it out; while a sense of ignorance is felt to be a kind of mental asphyxiation. Thus officers are revising old ideas and recognizing noetic needs and realizing their value. There are already those who believe that more even if informal talks should be given on all suitable occasions, and that by circularization troops should be put in the possession of as many bald facts as possible, leaving them to draw their own inference and form their own opinions concerning everything that the intense curiosity of the trenches seeks to find out. The public and the peoples of the world, as our President is now telling us, must be taken more into the confidence of governments. Legitimate criticism must not be repressed but welcomed. No doubt reticence, as Lequeux says, has often saved from disaster almost equal to that of

the black week in the South African war. One of the greatest calamities in the War of 1870 was caused by a French journal which said MacMahon had changed the direction of his army. Through England this reached Moltke, who altered all his plans and captured MacMahon and his army at Metz. This was an awful price for the indiscretion of a newspaper. But the public must not be spoon-fed, for either optimism or pessimism if kept blind is dangerous. The full story of the first battle of Ypres, which was so long withheld and distorted, would probably have done a great deal in England for recruiting, for great disasters as well as great victories rouse the British to greater efforts. Spying in war is not like stealing trade secrets or inventions or any other kind of industrial espionage. Perhaps, as some claim, the means of acquiring secret knowledge has progressed faster than the arts of concealing it, and if so this is suggestive for those who wish to prophesy. On the whole, we must conclude that although this subject fairly bristles with anomalies, in the new era we shall have a rather radical revision of our conceptions here in favor of more openness and less concealment, both to the soldier in the ranks and to the public.

Another thing is sun-clear to us now that we have entered and been fully adopted into the great family of nations, and that is that we have a crying need and a right to far more knowledge than we possess in any agencies now supplied of what is going on in the world. Our press and the great bureaus are far from

being satisfactory. Even our government to-day lacks sources of inner information in regard to significant events now transpiring at the heart of Bolshevism. We get only glimpses of trends of opinion, sentiment, or events in Oriental countries, and since the armistice, we really know very little indeed of what is going on in Germany; while we get only an occasional ray of light from Turkey, the Balkans, and even from South America and Mexico, in all of which countries Germany has long developed most effective means of getting inside facts. Thus even our leaders, to say nothing of the mass of intelligent readers, are novices in world politics, and we should undertake now a far more effective organization than we have yet dreamed of to keep our government completely informed of both the march of events and the changes of sentiment in all great countries of the world, and thus overcome the provincialism which has seemed to some our pride but which is particularly now our shame.

CHAPTER VIII

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND DIVERSITIES OF PATRIOTIC IDEALS

I. The treatment of objectors in lands where they are recognized—Fake objectors: The proper test and treatment—II. Factors of patriotism—Contrast in the goals of military training between France and Germany, viz., organization versus *esprit*—The French psychology of the attack.

I. *Morale and conscientious objectors.*—The fact that in the present war Great Britain took action against barely one thousand genuine cases, and that such were numbered only by hundreds in this country is suggestive, for we are told that the paucity of numbers is an index of the clarity of conviction regarding the righteousness of the cause. While conscientious objectors generally meet with scant sympathy in army or camp, where they are often hazed, bullied, and outlawed by sentiment and in a few cases, we are told, have actually been killed, there are many, on the other hand, who have the adroitness and tact to be efficient as peace propagandists that make them very insidious enemies of army morale. The genuine objectors were exempted from active fighting early in the war by England, and religious objectors were placed in the noncombatant army service of this country by the President's order of March 20, 1918. The conscientious objector is unknown or not heard of or at least has no voice, on the continent, and is

also of course unknown save under conscription. There are at least nine religious bodies in this country, of which the Quakers are best known (they have modified their attitude since the war began), whose creed makes them oppose war under all conditions. Tolstoi's example and influence in this direction, we are often told, had much to do with the debacle in Russia, and the objector conceives himself as in line with the ancient Christians, many of whom were ready to become martyrs rather than join the Roman legions. On the one hand the very theory of democracy favors the recognition of the right of private judgment, and respect of conscience is something too sacred to be interfered with, although conscription began with the French Revolution and through history has oftenest been practiced by republics, autocracies preferring standing armies. Here, and far more in England, there has been much written on the subject,[1] and many recusants who have been imprisoned have written up their experiences in a pathetic way; while there has been a deluge of magazine articles on the subject, some by high judicial and other authorities (like Prof. A. V. Dicey, Gilbert Murray, and W. R. Stather Hunt). Many hold that nothing will justify the state in compelling a man to do what his deepest convictions forbid.

On the other hand, thuggism and the suttee were inspired by religion, while at the other extreme to-

[1] Mrs. H. Hobhouse: *I Appeal Unto Cæsar*, and G. G. Coulton: *The Case for Compulsory Military Service* (London, 1917) give the most convenient surveys.

day in several lists of conscientious objectors agnostics lead, and there are almost no two socialist objectors who agree as to the grounds of their opposition. Socrates is well cited as a citizen who felt it his duty to die for the state if it so decreed. The law makes short shift with extreme Christian Scientists who refuse to employ doctors for dangerous diseases or with those who object on conscientious grounds to paying their taxes or to sending their children to school. The judgments of conscience are often erratic, and many crimes have been committed in its name. A French writer in a very sensational book justifies the fanatical regicide Ravaillac[2] because in slaying Henry IV he was actuated by what seemed to him religious motives.

The most difficult matter, of course, is to determine in each case from the previous life and character of the objector whether his scruples are sincere. For every genuine case there are probably a dozen slackers, cowards, shirkers, and malingerers, and the convictions of those who have any are often superficial and extemporized. The examiners who test these cases sometimes have a hard task, though generally experience enables them to decide quickly and truly. Many take cover under religious creeds with which they are shown to have only the very slightest acquaintance, or claim Biblical grounds for their remonstrance when they know almost nothing of the Scriptures. Some are anarchists and against all gov-

[2] See Albert Schinz: *The Renewal of French Thought on the Eve of the War*, 308, Amer. Jour. Psychol. 28, (1916).

ernments, others are neurotics, but it is important for the morale of an army that all these pretenders, as well as the genuine cases, be at least unmasked.

One very simple acid test has been suggested for those who object to war as inhuman. They are asked whether they are willing to alleviate suffering and danger by working on mine-sweepers or as stretcher-bearers. Those who refuse these most dangerous functions can hardly escape the brand of cowardice as at least a factor in their vaunted humanitarianism. Some declare themselves ready to assuage the suffering of the severely or mortally wounded but not that of those who are less injured, because by their aid the latter may be enabled to become fighters again. A motley crew of these slackers have become refugees from all countries in a New York club, From The Four Winds, mainly fugitives from the English Defense of the Realm Act. To refuse all service in the medical or quartermaster corps, in engineering or railroad service because of these objections, and to take twenty-eight days of solitary confinement and the added two months of prohibition to write or receive letters or visits, and to bear the contumely of the community rather than serve in a good cause would seem to indicate that the objector has too much will for his intellect and lacks something of the gregarious or social instinct that makes a desirable citizen. One writer estimates twenty-five thousand real or pretended conscientious objectors all-told in this country.

To most the conscientious objector is simply a nuisance. He thinks himself a sufferer for conscience sake and so entitled to pity and respect. These kickers have brought the very name conscience into disrepute, and many think the preferential treatment accorded them is unpolitic. One suggests they should be made to read and answer the dialogue between Socrates and the Laws. On the other hand, in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law and in very many other cases those who have chosen to obey their conscience by breaking the law of the land have been right. For fifteen months the objector could emigrate from England, and it was held that his refusal to do so implied acquiescence, because if his objection was not strong enough to induce him to make this sacrifice, discriminatory favors were not justified. In England it was found that there was very much money of suspicious origin in fomenting schools of objectors and persuading those who wanted exemption on other grounds that they might use this. Some interesting analyses have been given of a moral state in these *soi-disant* objectors which is clearly morbid. Some of them are psychically masochists and love to suffer, and sometimes have sex abnormalities. Others are unstable and catch any fanaticism that is in the air, losing their sense of proportion and even their mental balance.

Thus the objectors are a motley crew. While the conduct of a few may suggest moral sublimity and heroism, the majority are imperfectly socialized and

hyperindividualized, and because soldiering requires the subordination of each to the will of one command, the presence of these in any army is always dangerous. They should be excluded from the army not so much out of respect to their idiosyncrasies or even their convictions as because they may become the most insidious of all the foes of morale. They illustrate the fallibility of conscience, and like the fanatical sects have done much to discredit this oracle,[3] in the name of which so many hideous crimes have been committed. Can anyone doubt that if the conscientious objectors were in the seats of power they would be less tolerant of opposing views than was the Inquisition or the coadjutors of Robespierre?

II. *Differential morale.*—Differential psychology takes account of individual variations. No two people are exactly alike in body, and they are still more unlike in mind and character. The same is true of nations. Even patriotism is a very different thing in different lands. It generally contains at least the following ingredients: (1) Love of landscape, soil, and the physical environment, which plays such a rôle in ethnography; (2) race, especially its more generic differentiations, white, black, red, yellow; (3) language, including much that is common in culture material and in modes and expressions of thought and feeling; (4) *mores* or the general body of national customs and habits, including food, drink, and attire; (5) a common history and tradition as, for

[3] See Chapter I.

example, Renan called the ancient Jews the People of the Book; (6) political institutions like the state or governmental institutions, with something often thought to be more or less divine about them,—whether it be a direct supernatural force, as in a theocracy, or in the divinity that hedges kings, an embodiment of absolute reason as with Hegel, or in the *vox populi* of democracies; and (7) economic interests, such as in China, are now being made the new basis of unity, or as the German confederation of Bismarck started with the tariff union. There are many more factors, of which these are the chief.

Now all of these influences are cohesive except the last, which are more or less dispersive, and it is on these latter that all internationalism from Marx to Bolshevism is mainly based. Most economists tend to internationalism and, in so far as they do, are unpatriotic. True, commercial relations bind nations together, but at the expense of their integrity, as well as separating them as competitors. Business as such knows little of patriotism but has long made it its pretext, striving to use the flag to make trade follow it while, at the same time, erecting tariff walls, issuing embargoes and checks on immigration or freedom of movements of men and commodities. The proportion of the other six elements and their innumerable components differs indefinitely in different countries. So much is this the case that there is not so very much that is common between the love of country which an American feels and that which goes by this

name among Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Japanese, etc. Indeed, the patriotism of perhaps no two men in the same country is identical. The same is true of morale, both in peace and in war.

Such national and temperamental differences have a salient illustration in the diversities of stress laid upon these characters in both the training for and the practice of war, of which we see perhaps the most convenient contrast between the Teutons and French from Clausewitz and DuPicq down to Bernhardi and Foch. The Germans study fortifications, maneuvers, movements of army units as if war were a game of chess, and have developed their very elaborate *Kriegspiel,* which is heralded as marking a pedagogic revolution somewhat analogous to the methods of case study in law schools.[4] They figure out the details of time, numbers, and munitions, and the effects of the mechanical impact of bodies of men. Their strategy is that of a game planned in detail beforehand. The French theory and practice focus on the attack and charge, and it is to this that everything converges and from it diverges. The moments that precede the charge in which, we are so often told, every soldier, whatever his religion or irreligion, offers up a prayer or its psychological equivalent, are the center of all interest. The core of the whole matter for the German is thus the *Gemüt* to fight in general, while for the Frenchman it is the *esprit* of dashing at the enemy and stabbing him down or com-

[4] M. W. Meyerhardt: *The War Game,* Ped. Sem., Dec. 1915.

pelling him to flee. Here, too, the English are strong but without much theory about it. In these crucial moments each group or individual must act for himself as the emergency directs. The officers can only give general directions and inspire by personal leadership in front rather than issuing orders from the rear. Details thus have to be left to the inspiration that the moment brings to each. In these two ways of war all the heredity, history, and diathesis of the Gaul and Teuton respectively are expressed.

Again, Huot and Voivenel,[5] French writers, tell us in a remarkable work approved by the War Ministry, that courage is the triumph of the instinct of social over that of individual preservation. It is the sacrifice of the self for an ideal. It is the acme of citizenship. In moments of desperation and abandon it comes like an inspiration, even to mediocre men. The last vestige of fear goes, death is accepted as certain, and this sets free new and terrible energies; indeed it is often just at this stage that the most heroic deeds are done. The whole strength of the race nerves the individual, so gregarious is man, and before the inevitable end he is compelled as by a higher power to do one supreme act of service. But who can tell whether the noble Americans who died in and for France,—Victor Chapman, Norman Prince, Kiffin Rockwell, Alan Seeger, and others,—evolved a clear ideal, which few really do, or followed the blind, all-compelling social impulse. And who shall

[5] *Le Courage*, 358, Paris: 1917.

say which is highest or best. The Frenchman often loves his country as if she were a woman, *avec une pointe de sexualité*. Love of it seizes and carries him away as love of woman sometimes does a man. Just before the battle there is intense tumescence; every nerve is taut. Then there is a great hemorrhage of sentiment, and afterwards come exhaustion and depression.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOLDIER IDEAL AND ITS CONSERVATION IN PEACE

What is the ideal soldier?—Value of the details of his training—Carrying on the war in peace—True Democracy—Capital versus Labor—America as the "big brother" of the countries she has made democratic.

The ideal soldier comes perhaps nearer being the ideal man than does the ideal workman, scholar, farmer, savant, or the ideal man of any occupation. The soldierly attitude and bearing is the acme of alertness and readiness for action of any kind on the instant with a maximum of efficiency. Man is the erect stander (*anthropos*) and the soldier's very posture suggests the goal of human evolution, for he is the most upright of all men, and this suggests that he is supercharged with vitality. His uniform must seem to fit him and indicate that he would "strip" well. On parades and in civil life his dress must be immaculate and he must be spick and span in every way and part as well as in his toilet, while his every movement must speak of vigor. The true soldier carries a certain atmosphere of tonic, out-of-door healthfulness and life abounding that is a mental and physical tonic to all he meets and is the very opposite of weakness, invalidism, or flabbiness. There is no sign of apathy or accidie about either his body or mind. The ideal soldier is not merely an

erect man in uniform with a gun or sword but a man of sentiments and ideals peculiar to his calling. Honor, which is simply ideal conduct though often codified into fantastic form, is his Muse. This rule of life, though somewhat more pagan than Christian in its origin, is more positive and more ideal than the puritanical rule of conscience and demands more superfluity of virtue. It is all of duty with a large plus. It makes a strong appeal to the youthful imagination and is in fact the very best standard of human behavior in every relation of life. It has every predicate of Pauline charity and then some. The true soldier does not have the heart of a thug with a brain steeped in modern *Kultur*. Let us, however, be just and admit that the old German band of virtue (*Tugendbund*) in which young men, many of them lately soldiers in the Napoleonic wars, united to cultivate in civil life the primitive virtues of the camp, such as fraternity, utter honesty, love of work, loyalty, righteous pugnacity, and mutual help, to which they added chastity and the penitential mood, was in its early prime a potent agent in regenerating Prussia when it reached its pinnacle of cultural development a century ago.

The true soldier surpasses all others in team work and *esprit de corps*. This means that he has learned to execute orders on the instant and with exactness, to keep in the closest *rapport* with his fellows, and that he has voluntarily subordinated himself to the group with utter abnegation and has made its aims

his own. He can thus be handled in larger groups and each trusts in the next highest command, thus avoiding friction and enabling vast bodies of men to act as a unit. He has developed a large bundle of useful habits acquired by prolonged discipline that are for his own and for the common good. Thus the very manual of arms and all drill are in themselves the best liberal education for the body compared with modern physical training, which gives the fullest of all-round development to every muscle and prescribes every movement possible to the body as a machine but lacks the spirit of team work and of objective purpose. It is superior to this latter because drill movements are the very best of all group activities for training the muscles and the will, of which they are the organ, to the most strenuous of all efforts, viz., overcoming the enemy. They are sanctioned again, most of them even in their details by the experience of ages, some of them going back to the primitive hunter[1] from whom the warrior developed, and also by the consensus of the competent since the history of war began. Their benefit extends even to the details of military etiquette. The salute to the petty officer is in fact an obeisance to him, to the staff, and to the State. The salute to the flag is not a ritual addressed to a piece of striped bunting but to the country and the cause of which

[1] See V. Branford & P. Geddes: *The Coming Polity*, Lond., Williams & Norgate, 1917, showing how occupational types may be made culture stages. Also *A Rustic View of War and Peace*, 124, anonymous, Soc. Rev., Summer No. 1918.

it is a symbol. The ceremony of mounting guard came down to us from the Crusades and was once an act of religious consecration. Presenting arms expressed offering up of self and weapon. Bugle calls, taps, military funerals, and the rest are not a few of them made up, warp and woof, of symbols, which have always been among the great culture forces of the world.[2]

Least of all can a soldier live to or for himself. He and all that he has, is, and can do, his entire *thun und haben* are subordinated as a means to an end that vastly transcends self. He must be, feel, and act like a soldier, that is, for his companions, the army, and his cause. For this reason he should also be a gentleman without fear or reproach and should feel himself particularly called to elevate and advance to ever higher levels the loftiest ideals of his sex, a call which the instinctive admiration of women always and everywhere makes to him. While cultivating hardness to the enemy he must and will naturally compensate by more tenderness to friends, the weak, defenseless, sometimes even to animals, as we see in all kinds of individual and group pets and mascots, including even fleas, the interest in which throws such a suggestive sidelight on the diathesis of the soldier. The very drudgery and sordidness of camp and trench life make him also seek compensation in ideals of home and of peace. As the war lasts on and he grows grim and

[2] H. Silberer, *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism.* Tr. by S. E. Jelliffe. N. Y., Moffat, Yard & Co., 1917.

fatalistic, and his will becomes set as if in a tonic cramp to see it through regardless of self, countervailing suggestions arise that all the suffering of battle must be paid for by a world enough better to make up for all he has gone through, and the conservation of this most precious of sentiments in survivors later is one of the most difficult but important tasks of constructive and insightful statesmanship.

Physical trainers during the war have grown practically unanimous that the all-sided muscle training they represent is a better school of body-culture than military drill, which is more special and affords a less general culture, and on this ground they have not favored the claim that grew strong during the war that drill should supersede the cult they represent, as it did in a number of our states, led of course by Wyoming.[3] They are not only right from the standpoint of physiology but our experience has shown that setting-up exercises in the training camps were a most wholesome aid in developing and hardening not only the body but the soul. But they tend to ignore the fact that military training in school in war time gives more push to all the deeper sentiments we dub patriotism than any systematized set of exercises, with only the end of general physical developement, can ever do. In other words, they have not fully recognized the subtle psychological preparedness of drill under real war conditions, *e. g.*, with uniforms, camps, barracks, and guns that shoot

[3] Pin Ling: *The Public Schools and the War*, Clark U. Thesis, 1919.

bullets. The great uplift to morale which this gives to students in high school and college in time of war, especially when students themselves realize their own liability to draft sooner or later, is something it is hard and perhaps impossible to conserve in peace; so that the advocates of military drill in institutions of learning are right when war is on or imminent, but wrong when it is over.

Thus the complete soldier and patriot has unprecedented incentives to idealism and to be more ready to insist on and enlist in all great and good even if radical reforms. If he has found in the aims of the war a cause that is so much greater than himself that in his heart he has really consented to die for it if need be, the awful school of war will graduate him a man more fully statured than others who have lacked this supreme initiation to life. He can show "a healthy brisket," that he has "grown hair" on the chest not only of his body but of his very soul. Would that more soldiers might go on to this higher diploma of finished manhood and citizenship, and not stop at the kindergarten or primary stage of the soldierly curriculum!

Carrying on the war after peace comes.—Many if not most great wars have been followed by periods of dis- and reorganization, lawlessness, selfish greed and sometimes moral license, and there is a very great danger that this will now be the case, perhaps especially in this country. It will surely be so unless the new vigor and robust virtues that war has given us

are kept up in a new war with the weapons of peace. As Harold Goddard well says, "Without the new health, hitting force, adventure, loyalty, justice, and high endeavor that the war has bred peace will mean stagnation and decay." Even physical vigor is just as essential for the battles of peace as for those of war. We must make justice a passion, realizing that not only is the world not yet safe for democracy but that democracy is nowhere more than half realized and is as yet only an ideal toward which we, its leader, have taken but a few steps. So the soldier who is a hero in the struggle of arms often becomes a moral coward, intent only on personal indulgence when he comes home. To do this is ethically worse than desertion.

Every intelligent and impartial mind recognizes that in this country Capitalism is a danger no whit less than Kaiserism or military autocracy, and unless we can devise and commit ourselves to a substitute for war against its abuses, the struggle begun with powder and gas will be unfinished. What we have to do is to devise effective means of setting a back-fire to the principle of the soviet, as represented in Bolshevism, and this we can do only by the method of inoculation with an attenuated virus. Russia to-day by her propaganda for a cause, the devotees of which however mistaken are ready to sacrifice their lives, is waging a post-bellum fight which now promises to be far more significant to the world than anything she ever did with her arms. In

our better cause we should realize that if we are to maintain our world leadership in democracy we have to make ourselves far more democratic than we are and reorganize our very industrial system from bottom to top.

War inevitably leads men's thoughts back to first principles, and everywhere thinking men are reconsidering social, political, industrial, and even family traditions and institutions. Everything bottoms on industry, and even in the Non-Partisan League, which has so much to commend it, we already see a suggestion of the soviet principle which animated the ancient guilds, that cities and states should be ruled by real representatives of the different lines of industry, which should be so reorganized that the present greatest of all wastes in our economic system, viz., friction between Capital and Labor and unfair competition, can be forever and as effectively wiped out as we have almost wiped out the old and wasteful warfare between Science and Religion. When the work of the Paris Conference is done and political boundaries and balances are agreed upon, the hardest of all the wars against future war should be the chief concern of the country and the world. There must be no bolshevik domination by the proletariat, and indeed there can never be save in Russia where the middle class, which was weak in France in the days of the French Revolution, is less developed. A true democracy will never commit itself to the foolish principle of the equality of men, save in op-

portunity. Individuals differ enormously,—in ability, in capacity for service, in the value of the hereditary strain that flows through them, and in everything else, as well as in the kind of ability that comes by training and education; and any political, social, or industrial organization that prevents superior men from attaining superior rewards is doomed to failure. The history of this country, especially since the Civil War but indeed long before that, is a triumphant vindication of the principle that the freer men are the less equal they become, and while here the chief measure of ability has so far been too much material reward, the instinct of competition which prompts everyone to do and be the greatest and best he can needs only regulation. Interference with it will always bring not even mediocrity but inferiority and stagnation.

The present, then, in fine is the most critical moment in the history of this country and the world. Never were there such possibilities of advance or regression, nor such need of mobilizing all our moral resources for the new militancy of peace. We owe this to the dead that their self-immolation be not in vain; we owe it to our descendants that they be really free; and we owe it to ourselves that we awake to the tremendous issues now pending, for even men of to-day are but a link between the past and the true overman that is some time to be. Thus the real problem of morale which is up to us is to face the *here* and *now,* to act aright in the living present, and

to inaugurate a higher history of mankind compared to which all human records to date are only prolegomena or a preface.

We entered the war to make the world safe for democracy but we did far more; we made the world democratic. Thus our relations to these new republics is very like that of a parent to the children he has brought into the world. Shall we disown our offspring and leave them orphaned and unprotected? They owe their new life to us. We cannot expose them in their infancy. It is they now and not we, as we were in Washington's day when we were only a belt along the Atlantic, that need to be safeguarded from "entangling foreign alliances." Without our aid these new democracies will not be safe and our war-aims will be aborted. They will not all be our mandatories, perhaps none of them, but we are called by every principle of honor to be at least the "big brother" of all of them. When as a result of our Civil War we set the slaves free, we did not leave them at the mercy of their former masters but did our best, mistaken though our way was, to establish them in their new freedom. We cannot, of course, do this for the newly emancipated peoples of Europe, although they are free solely because we brought victory to the Allies and they know that we gave them their new life, but we can cherish toward them the same good will and do something to activate it. To evade this high duty would be moral slackerdom unworthy the spirit with which our soldiers fought and won.

The new democracies look to us not only because we made them free or because we were the first great republic, but also because they have made us by giving to us so many of their countrymen, friends, and relatives who have come to these shores. Indeed, we are all only and solely immigrants from Europe, or their descendants, and this our country, which is really "New Europe," owes all that it has and is to "Old Europe" and we shall probably in future years owe it a far larger debt of this kind. We have made a notable beginning toward paying this debt by our arms, and we must not repudiate the other larger moiety of it that is still due. It is a great debt with long-accumulated interest. Europe is our father- or mother-land, and as it ages it may yet more need support from its young and lusty child across the Western sea. From our previous isolation we are now called to a new world leadership. The last becomes the first. Have we the morale to see this new opportunity and to assume the new duties and responsibilities which the Muse of History now lays upon us?

CHAPTER X

MORALE, TESTS, AND PERSONNEL WORK

Recent studies of types of character—Testing soldiers and officers—The development of personnel work in the army and in industry—Dangers here of substituting *Kultur* for culture in general and the same dangers now imminent in psychology.

Besides the traits common to all men with which our textbooks on psychology deal, there is now open a vast field of differential psychology which stresses the points in which individuals differ. The Binet-Simon scale graded prepubescent children by psychological rather than chronological age. Introspection had stressed the difference between eye, ear, and motor types of reaction. Before this there were the old classical four temperaments, some slight contributions to characterology by the phrenologists, while even the palmists added their mite. Characterology from Bahnsen on opened up certain new lines. Krasnegorski applied Pawlow's conditioned reflex to testing the mentality of babies. Kraepelin proposed a new set of symptom groups for the psychoses. In yet another field MacAuliffe and Giovanni (apparently working more or less independently of each other) gave us the four somatic types, in accordance with which the French students in this field would base a markedly differential medical treatment and which apparently has profound significance for assignment

to different lines of military service. McDougall, Thorndike, Shand, and others have attempted to tab off the basal instincts of human nature and perhaps to develop a scale on which each individual difference can be laid off. Nietzsche, James, Jung, Davenport, and many others proposed new rubrics for grouping primary dispositions. Many corporations have experts who are very clever in the rough-and-ready judgments of men from the standpoint of efficiency for different tasks. Psychanalysis has a set of evaluations of human qualities largely all its own. To-day everybody is tested save only the testers themselves. They have a field that is absolutely unlimited because every single trait, attribute, or activity possible to man's body or soul can be graded. But no one has ever attempted to estimate the comparative value of these innumerable scales, and beyond the rather high but probably over-rated worth of the index of correlations which is reached by purely outer and mechanical methods, we have little light on just what is the meaning of the ratings, or even just what fundamental human qualities they imply. Until we are much farther on here, this at present all-absorbing and most interesting and promising work, cannot begin to celebrate its "harvest-home."

All this work falls into two very distinct domains: (1) The first looks at human nature itself and would inaugurate a new quest for the fundamental dispositions of men. It finds many misfits between man and his environment—here, repression; there, over-stimu-

lation. The institutions of modern civilization would thus have to be more or less remolded to meet man's primal nature and to eliminate all these disharmonies between it and his environment, or else the latter must be changed. Culture says the environment must first of all fit man; *Kultur,* vice versa, that the man must be fitted to his environment. The first principles to which in crises everything tends to make us revert are always what man really and at bottom is, needs, or wants to help on his development. (2) The other group of students of this readjustment starts from established institutions to find what human factors they need and seek to remold individuals accordingly. These two lines of psychological study represented by the testers and analyzers of human nature into its native elements have so far had almost no influence upon each other, and their tendencies are as disparate as those of culture and *Kultur.* But to extend the small common ground between them until their coördination is developed and complete is the real goal of all these new explorations into the dominion of Mansoul.

It was in the army tests that the *Kultur* method of psychological study attained its highest triumph, thanks to the sagacity and energy of Yerkes, Thorndike, Dodge, Scott, and many others. Adopted with hesitation and regarded with some suspicion at first, these methods have now won almost universal respect and are a permanent part of our military organization, and psychological rating will henceforth have

weight even in the promotion and demotion of officers.

Yerkes[1] has given us the best sketch of both plans and achievements here. The Psychology Committee of April, 1917, first designated twelve other committees, viz., those on literature, examinations of recruits, aviation, selection of men for special tasks, problems of vision, military training and discipline, incapacity including shell-shock, emotional stability, propaganda behind the German lines, acoustic problems, tests for deception, and on the adjustment of psychological instruction to military educational needs. The appropriation was at first very small and most of these committees did relatively little. Tests were wrought out, revised, and printed,[2] and equipment for two hundred examining officers manufactured, etc. One result was that in the first six months nearly 45,000 men, or three per cent of those tested, were found to have a mental age of under ten years and many would not be worth to the government what their training would cost. Therefore, some were discharged, some were sent to the labor battalions, and others were put into other lines of service and sometimes given special training. One quest was for men of superior intelligence, suitable

[1] *Report of the Psychology Committee of the National Research Council*, Psy. Rev., March, 1919.

[2] *The Examiner's Guide*, Sept., 1917, a pamphlet which had to be kept private and confidential during the war. See, too, the following pamphlets: *Army Mental Tests* (Wash., Nov. 22, 1918); L. M. Terman: *The Use of Intelligence Tests in the Army*, Psy. Bul., June, 1918. For general references see *Psychological Tests: A Bibliography*. Comp. by Helen Boardman, Bureau of Educational Experiments, N. Y., 1917; also *Psychological Tests: A Revised and Classified Bibliography*. 116, by D. A. Mitchell and G. J. Ruger. Bureau of Educational Experiments, N. Y., 1918.

candidates for the Officers' Training School. By weeding out the least competent thus, those abler could progress faster in their training, as has so often been shown in schools by eliminating morons from the class. The preliminary method of testing intelligence was by groups of eighty at first, and later in some camps in groups of five hundred; the doubtful ones being given further individual examinations. Very clever schemes were devised to test the intelligence of illiterates and those who did not know our language.

A School of Military Psychology was organized to train the personnel of this work. Very much of the experimentation was devoted to finding qualities of mind and body indicative of aptitude for flying in the aviation corps, and also methods of cultivating psychological qualities necessary for success here, and at Mineola a laboratory was developed by Watson to study the psychological effects of high altitudes, oxygen insufficiency, ability to point a plane quickly and accurately at any time and in any direction, nystagmus after rotation, the effects of age, social status, athleticism, and many other traits; and all this increased the effectiveness of placement in the aviation corps.

Dodge began his remarkable series of practical studies by testing gun pointers in the Navy and was thus able to analyze the whole problem of aiming from the beginning of training the gun toward the target on to adjustment to its motion, the effect upon

aim of pressing the firing key, etc. He then took up the problem of the effects of gas masks of various makes upon visual acuity, the limitation of the peripheral field by various types of window, the psychic effects of the modifications of respiration, and the retarding effects of the masks upon eye reaction. He next addressed himself to the study of the effective anti-submarine lookout service and listening posts. Another committee devoted itself to the process of re-education. Tests were devised, too, to diagnose fitness for the radio service before the training of the cadet was undertaken, and very valuable were the measures of acuity of hearing at all pitches and levels. The committee proposed a course on human action and developed what it called an *Alpha* scheme of examination for each member of the Students' Army Training Corps.

In many vocations, *e. g.,* telegraphy, educated men often failed while others of very modest training and limited general ability took to it readily. This problem needs further exploration. Camouflage, too, had a very large psychological side. The distribution of intelligence ratings between the seven grades from very superior to very inferior show fewest in the first class and a great majority in the lower four of these groups. Various comparisons were made between the results of these methods of sorting and the estimates of officers who had been with their men long enough to know them well, and there was generally a very high degree of coördination.

Wars are won, as Crowder said, "by judicious expendiutre of brain power rather than by a stupendous expenditure of man power." When Germany mobilized her army, nearly every man had had two years or more of military training, had shown what he could do, and was placed accordingly so that the army was, as Terman says, "already made and the parts of the machine needed only to be assembled." Here our draftees represented every kind of training and intelligence, and came from all classes. They were not an army but only the raw material for one, and until this organization was effected, they were only a mob who could be beaten by a very small body of trained men. Testing aids not merely in placing men but in reducing the time necessary for organizing and training troops. Besides the *Alpha* test of ability to comprehend, remember, follow instructions, distinguish between relevant and irrelevant answers to common-sense questions, combine related ideas into a logical whole, and fix attention on a goal without diversion by suggestion, for those who could read and write English, (the twenty-one questions of which were answered by checking or underlining, thus permitting the use of a stencil for computing results), there was the *Beta* test for both foreigners and illiterates. It, too, tested general ability but by more concrete methods. Instructions, the ability to understand which was tested, were given in pantomime, the power to form arbitrary associations quickly, to find likeness and differences among symbols, to detect

absurdities—in all these tests the answers required no writing. The third class were individual tests used in reëxamining those who failed to pass the group tests. Here various scales, including the performance scale, were used. It was on the basis of these tests that the seven-step gradation above was based. It was found that this score of ability to learn and to think quickly, etc., was little influenced by schooling because some of the highest records were made by those who never finished the eight grades. These tests were designed to replace other methods of judging men's value to the many branches of the service. They were not infallible or exhaustive for they did not measure courage, personal leadership, loyalty, nor the emotional traits that make men "carry on," although these traits are more likely to be found in those of superior intelligence, which is all that is tested here and is perhaps the most important single factor in efficiency. As Terman well says, "a man's value to the service should not be tested by his intelligence alone," and he adds that "in no previous war has so much depended upon the prompt and complete utilization of the mental ability of the individual soldier." He intimates, too, that the intelligence of the soldier has never been so promptly and completely utilized and that this method may shorten the period of preparation by months. It probably costs not less than $5,000 to train, support, and bring a soldier back. Thus good tests saved the country this expense for all whom they proved in-

competent to fight, and if the war cost us fifty million dollars per day and these methods shortened it, and it cost but twenty-five cents to test one man, as we are told, its economic value is obvious. Two or three years ago, as Yerkes well says, this mental engineering was a dream of a few visionaries. To-day it is a branch of technology which, although created by the war, is evidently to be perpetuated and to grow in service and significance.

Army personnel work.[3] The extremely complex organization of the modern army requires very many kinds of skill and expertness, and thus one of the first problems of organization was: (1) to find out in detail every kind of preëxisting expertness which was needed, (2) to examine every man to determine just what he could do best, and (3) to place him in the army where he would be most serviceable. Years would have been required to train all the specialists

[3] See *Personnel*, a weekly four-page journal published by the Adjutant General and the Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army (First No., August 1, 1918). Also *Trade Specifications and Index, U. S. Army*, Govt. Printing Office, 1918. This standardizes vocational terminology in the army and defines the duties of specialists and skilled tradesmen required by the various technical organizations. Each definition states duties, qualifications, and the nearest equivalent or substitute occupation, and describes the ideal skilled man from the army standpoint. Also *Index of Occupations*, which sets forth the previous civil callings which qualified men to fulfill the duties called for by all branches and units of the army. There are one hundred and six group headings, and under most of them are many subdivisions, *e. g.*, under "auto mechanic" are nearly twenty. See, also, *The Right Man in the Right Place in the Army*. This describes with numerous photographs the exhibit of army personnel work in Washington in January, 1919, from the careful inspection of which one can obtain an excellent general idea of the work. See, too, Lt.-Col. W. V. Bingham's *Army Personnel Work* in the Journal of Applied Psychology (March, 1919), which gives the best brief summary. There have been many other less authoritative and summary accounts of this work.

needed, and so it became a very vital problem to utilize every kind of ability and to do so in the least possible time. Fortunately much had already been done in this country in various centers and industries to fit the man to his job. As was proper, psychologists led in the army work to this end and the work was developed with extraordinary skill and rapidity, although it did not on the whole attain here the effectiveness of similar work in Great Britain.

Thus first the job had to be studied, perhaps analyzed into its elements, and the capacities of each individual were rated on a card by those competent. At first the personnel officers had very little to guide them in utilizing the human wealth of trained artisans, teachers, farmers, shop hands, etc., and often illiterates and men not speaking English poured into the cantonments. Their preparation, too, required an exhaustive study of the entire army organization to determine where various kinds of ability were needed. This work grew in importance until the government, which began with an appropriation of $25,000, gave a total of $851,000 to it. A committee was organized with Walter Dill Scott as director, and E. L. Thorndike, Raymond Dodge, R. M. Yerkes, L. M. Terman, J. B. Watson, and other of our ablest psychologists.

For classifications and placement personnel officers were established in all army divisions, depots, and training camps, coast stations, aviation fields, and the special training camps for staff officers, etc. In

each office a special card system furnished information as to the educational, occupational, and military qualifications of every man. Bingham, whose excellent report we follow here, tells us that with a minimum of clerical work this system selected nearly a million men for transfer, largely into technical units, and still more within the divisions or camps. Sixteen civilian supervisors aided, and in all 450 officers and 7,000 men were engaged in personnel work, and three and one-half million soldiers were interviewed by trained examiners. The skilled tradesmen found in each contingent of the draft received the requisitions from the staff corps for specialists, forwarded them to the camps, and thus a clearing office was put in operation, and before long 60,000 requisitions for men of designated qualities had been filled. Definitions of many hundreds of different trades needed by modern warfare were brought together in an index, and tables of occupational needs and personal specifications were worked out, which were studied and approved by our army units in France, and this greatly helped in accelerating the preparedness of our newest divisions. An elaborate system of practical trade tests was devised and standardized and instituted, and over a million men were soon not only classified but graded as to their efficiency in various trades.

Then came the personnel work for officers, with qualification cards, occupational, educational, military, and also rating by superior officers. This sys-

tem was put into use throughout the entire army, the ratings being frequently revised by a uniform system. It was applied first to candidates for commissions, later in selecting those for the Officers' Training School, and now its use is universal and revised every three months. It has become an important factor in promotions, demotions, discharge, and appointments to the reserve corps. There are definitions of the duties and qualifications of no less than five hundred kinds of officers in the various branches of our service to tell just what each can do, and on the basis of such data statistical studies have been made of the relative significance of age, civilian earnings, training, intelligence, etc.

An improved system of tests for aviation candidates has been introduced, together with a new program of examination and selection. With the coöperation of the General Staff and the Surgeon General's office, plans were also made for segregating, assorting, training and utilizing the partially fit. The psychologists, who tested 1,760,000 soldiers, furnished the personnel officers with their intelligence ratings.

The navy methods of selecting and training men, and especially the work of the fire-control squad, the gun-pointer, the hydrophone listener, and the lookout have been improved.

The War Service Exchange (January 18, 1918) classified the applications of all persons desiring to serve the government in any capacity outside the army, and dealt with about 110,000 written proffers

of service and placed some 10,000 men, often those of superior attainments.

After fourteen months of service under the Attorney-General this Committee on Classification was transferred to the General Staff and merged with the Central Personnel Branch newly created to supervise the procurement, placement, promotion, and transfer of officers throughout all branches of the army. This means that centralized control of the personnel work for both officers and soldiers was recognized and established as an integral part of our army organization. Among its legacies, too, are the classification card, the index of occupations, trade specifications, standardized trade tests, and the general concept of personnel specifications, as well as the idea of definition of duties. Thus the war bequeaths to peace a method that is no less significant for industry and education. It has taught us that any person pursuing any kind of course needs a clear definition of precisely the duties for which he is being trained and to this he must fit his knowledge. The instructor should be able to speak with authority on these points, and this will greatly enhance his own effectiveness and give new zest. Every foreman and employer, too, must make the formulation of duties to be filled very much more specific, etc.[4]

The above outline suggests to the most casual reader the great significance of this work for morale.

[4] For this statement of the personnel work in the army I have drawn largely upon Bingham's pamphlet.

Each individual unit knows under this system that all his qualifications, whether inherited or acquired; his physical, mental, and moral traits are carefully estimated by those most competent to judge, and that in every position in life where his promotion depends on others these ratings will be taken into account. In some skills there are three and in others four grades of efficiency.

In every 100,000 men requested by the Staff Corps, 82,000 were occupational specialists; and in every 100,000 men needed by the infantry divisions, 40,000 had to be such. In every 10,000 men drafted, 6,200 were in some classified occupation. Only 181 chemists were found in 100,000 men. In all as finally classified there were 714 occupations. Some 3,365,000 men were thus classified, and 1,191,000 were ordered. There was a large proportion of low-grade men among the disciplinary classes. Trade tests were devised, most of which could be given anywhere by any intelligent man in a short time and with no elaborate equipment. These tests were also of three kinds, oral, picture, and performance. The four classes generally recognized were: novice, apprentice, journeyman, and expert. For performance tests a blacksmith's shop was ready, and there was a trial course with plenty of curves, stops, up and down inclines, etc., to test out auto drivers; also linemen, and pattern makers. One interesting general conclusion is that among those professing trade ability, when experimentally grouped, the following results were obtained: 6 per

cent. proved to be experts; 24 per cent. journeymen; 40 per cent. apprentices; and 30 per cent. were inexperienced.

It is in the incalculable value of personnel work not only for the army but for industry that there lurks one of the gravest dangers of our modern civilization, viz., that above referred to of substituting *Kultur* for culture. The general educational lesson already often drawn from this work is that every student should decide as early and clearly as possible the work he wishes to do in life, and should strive to know all he can about its duties and the qualifications for success in it. The desire for this success should animate all his studies and be the source of all his interests, and he should in his curriculum grade and evaluate all topics by their worth in aiding him to success in his chosen line. Thus we already have pedagogues of high and low degree who have adopted the slogan, "No more aimless studies; make everything tell for your future vocation, for life is too short and human energy too feeble to be wasted in branches that give mere delectation."

Now this ideal, if fully realized, would almost regenerate many schools, topics, and even higher institutions of learning. It would mark more or less of a renaissance in our economic and social life by giving the better preparedness for all kinds of positions that we so much need and the lack of which is perhaps our greatest national waste. It would increase personal incomes and enhance national prosperity. This

was the policy to which Germany owes her extraordinary development, especially since 1870. Every young person was fitting into some specific pattern. Even shoeblacks and chimney sweeps had a course of training prescribed for them. In a word, all knew ever earlier in life just what they were going to be and do, and strove to acquire just that knowledge which would be most useful to them in the various callings, all of which were becoming more skilled or more professional. Man becomes complete only when he is fitted in as an integral part to his own proper place in the state, church, business, etc.

But to fit a man for a preformed place in a system is not to educate him even in the etymological sense of that word. It makes for perfection along present lines but it also makes changes to new lines of development even more difficult. It institutionalizes, conventionalizes, discounts individual initiative and still more radical reforms, and gives a sense of finality and achievement rather than one of docility. It is prone to bring stability that passes too readily into rigidity and a prematurity that forgets all the enthusiasm of youth. *Kultur* makes the individual feel that he has arrived; culture, that he is just starting, that the best things are yet to be, and that new vocations must be constantly evolved in a community that is really vital and growing. Culture has preëminent regard for native interests; *Kultur* for those that are secondary and induced or that come from practical life, which culture regards as important but subordi-

nate and so keeps a generous place for untechnalized knowledge. The ideal of culture would be not merely to have every man always doing the thing at which he could earn most now or later but the thing that he loves best to do, more or less regardless of what it pays, finding thus an inner motive and placing it on the whole above outer opportunistic ones. Only thus can human nature continue to put forth new sprouts and civilization be secured against stagnation and mechanization.

The contribution of all this work to morale both in the army and in the arts of peace has never been adequately realized even by those who inaugurated it. I believe its value can hardly be overestimated. First, we all want self-knowledge, and an essential part of this is to know how we rank as compared with others. Boys in a school have to know who can whip whom, and girls to appraise their good looks, etc. Emulation and the dread of inferiority are among the fundamental motives in the human herd. In a democracy men need to be taught that they are not equal save in opportunity, with the prestige of birth and inheritance swept away. Native inequalities not only ought not to be lost sight of but all the more recognized and given freest scope. The abolition of factitious prestige has no purpose if it does not mean the inauguration of nature's aristocracy of the ablest and the best. If the high are brought low and the humble exalted, it must be by intrinsic merit or desert, by the power of some to lead or by the lack of this power in

others. Only on this basis can any organization or institution, social or political, be permanently based. True self-knowledge and reëvaluation of self cure even neurotics. In a true democracy, thus, each must know his own worth aright for this means a new and true hierarchy of gifts and attainments, and so it must have its leaders and its led, its captains and its privates, and even its underlings. It must have its ranks, grades, and classes but they must be those Nature decrees. If ideals of proletarian rule ignore this and level the weak and the strong, they fly in the face of the basal facts of human nature no less than does the opposite extreme of dominance by right of wealth and birth. Such ratings as the above thus contribute their moiety not only to discriminate between individuals who are a liability and those who are an asset to the community, but give to each who submits to such tests and in any degree accepts their findings, some sense of his true place in the world. If they tear down the delusions of the unfit about themselves they give a splendid stimulus to those of low degree whom they exalt, and a complete democracy means and needs just this and little else if we consider all its implications. Each man and woman in the place he is qualified by Nature and culture to fill is its ideal.

Much as we crave self-knowledge, it is, however, always attained with more or less resistance, so that there is no danger that the methods and the value of all such findings and ratings will not be sufficiently

criticized, especially when promotions based on them compete with older bases such as seniority in service, the false humanism that refuses to recognize inferiority because it is pathetic, or that would lower standards of efficiency to keep the slower pace of the weak; or especially the misconception of a democracy that would ignore Nature's distinctions and so interpret equality as to impair its freedom to profit to the uttermost by every kind of superiority each may possess. It is in the light of such considerations that we must rate very highly the value of all such tests, not only in war but in all departments of life in times of peace.

Finally, if we ask what is the value of such work for psychology and its morale, our verdict must be less favorable. This splendid young science has rather suddenly gone out into practical life, conquering and to conquer. It has not only taught scores of occupations how to pick and assign their employees to special tasks, has taught advertisers how to make their displays more catchy and alluring, has told printers how to space better and suggested improved forms of type to increase the amount of clear legibility per unit of space, has inaugurated better color harmonies for textiles and decorations, but it has also made school work more economical and effective, has given shrewd suggestions to drummers in the art of selling, told how to make shop window displays more attractive, developed an ingenious technic of handling and graphic presentation of masses of data gath-

ered in many fields, has analyzed many industrial processes and improved upon those which are traditional to the great enhancement of efficiency in many lines of work, has improved accounting, has taught us better ways of dealing with criminals and the subnormal, surveyed industrial and educational institutions and systems, and has accomplished signal results in many other domains.

But the question is still insistent how many of the scores of psychologists who have turned aside to this work have really made or found in all these fields substantial contributions to pure psychology, behavioristic, genetic, or introspective. Is there danger here that our science will lapse from culture to *Kultur?* Psychology is the acme of all the studies that deal with men. It has accomplished very much in the study of the senses, memory, association, attention, the intellectual processes, and even the volitional life of man, but it now confronts the yet vaster and harder problems of feeling, emotion, sentiment, or affectivity generally, and here a new balance must be struck between synthesis and analysis; and to this end it needs data broader than those which the control of conditions of the laboratory can supply as a point of new departures. Instead of carrying on the well-begun investigations into child life, instinct in animals, the insane, primitive races, the analysis of philosophies, the problems of esthetics and logic, and increasing our capital of knowledge, we have devoted ourselves to the application of what was already ascertained.

CHAPTER XI

SPECIFIC MORALE FOR THE ARMY

Outline of the Munson memorandum—Characterization of the methods of developing morale in Camp Greenleaf—Lessons of this work.

March 2, 1918, Brigadier-General E. L. Munson submitted in a confidential manuscript to the Surgeon-General a memorandum setting forth the need of a systematic plan for the psychological stimulation of troops in promoting fighting efficiency. The insight shown by and the practical significance of this note merits the amplest recognition not only by the army, which it received, but also by psychologists, who have not fully appreciated its value, and so I epitomize and quote from it as follows.

There has hitherto been little effort by the War Department to make effective use of the mental factor in war, to which very few officers have given serious consideration while most have entirely ignored it. The effectiveness of a fighting force depends on the willingness of its units to contend and if necessary to die for an idea, and in our service the inculcation of such ideals has been left to chance and is at the very best crude, so that many do not know what they are fighting for, many are illiterate or of a low order of intelligence, or foreign-born and unfamiliar

with this country or even its language, and so their will to support vicissitudes and to conquer is impaired. We have been materialistic in our military service, thinking only of the men, money, and munitions necessary, but this does not make the true fighter.

Morale is the driving force behind the spear-point and gives efficacy to equipment, training, and expenditure. It is the steam in the boiler, an imponderable dominating power which, if it is below the highest standard, lessens the chance of victory. Russia collapsed because she lacked morale. Its presence gave victory to a handful of Greeks against the Persian hordes at Marathon. It gives temper to the edge of resolve. In our own previous wars we had to depend on volunteers whose very enlistment was an initial impulse tending toward victory, so that all we had to do was to transform every individual impulse into the unity which distinguishes an army from a mob. Now, however, most of our soldiers are drafted, and their incentive to fight has to be molded and brought into focal community of purpose, so that the psychological problem facing the War Department is vastly greater than ever before in our history, and whatever there is in such an army of the will-to-win is largely a by-product engendered incidentally and springing too much from the personality of the local leader. At least it is not created intentionally or deliberately by the War Department, and in this oversight it has neglected its greatest asset. Cowardice is a state of

mind and springs from the depression due to contact with the unknown and its vague terrors magnified by ignorance; hence the need of explanation in advance of contact. Fear and panic are thus largely the results of imaginary not of real evils which moral training can, to a great extent, anticipate and remove. We generally assume that the will-to-win exists preformed among troops, but this is false save for a few. It can, however, thrive under culture. Bayonet exercise gives it for individuals by arousing the instinct of self-preservation. Drill gives it to organizations; so does experience in service and resentment at the cruelty of the enemy. But we must not limit our training to the body and omit that of the mind.

Few are born fighters but many may be aroused by external stimuli to acts of heroic bravery. Hence we should create an official organization with ramifications through the army detailed enough to reach each individual at frequent intervals and affect his mental attitude. Its activity should be all-pervasive and should take advantage of any change in conditions, environmental, military, or political, and its sole function should be to intensify the will-to-win. Some member of the General Staff should be detailed for every large body of troops, charged solely with the specific duty of raising and maintaining morale at a high level. This agent should be on the watch for unfavorable rumors and refute them; he should note evidences of disappointment and trace and remove their cause; look to amusement, occupation, and the

general condition of every group, and if possible of every individual. Each regiment should have its selected local agent working under a division officer, each company commander should be *ex officio* the morale officer for his company, and chaplains, too, should be used to this end. To be effective this psychological stimulation must be continuous, varied, quick to act against depression, whether due to enemy propaganda, bad weather, military reverses, sickness, deficient supplies, political or economic condition, or anything else. The personnel charged with this work should constantly study morale and detect everything wrong at the start and if possible neutralize it. Its influence should extend not merely to the United States forces but to the civilian body. They should be negative, *i. e.,* to impair the enemy's morale or fighting spirit; and positive, to encourage our men. These means, too, may be either direct and open or indirect, *e. g.,* through the civil population and by making environment more favorable. The duty of depressing the enemy's civilian psyche is the work of the Bureau of Public Information, which has done many things in many ways. All hostile and depressing sentiment must be controlled and neutralized, and among these we must count indifference, selfishness, greed, and ignorance. Besides breaking the enemy's morale by making the war itself hard for him, psychologic methods should be used, *e. g.,* printed matter scattered by aviators, use of the neutral press, special instruction of exchange prisoners, etc. In all

methods of direct stimulation publicity is necessary. The American thinks and does not take kindly to undue concealment of conditions. He is unusually amenable to control by direct appeal to his reason and justice, and he should be given every opportunity to think and follow appeals along logical lines. He resents being led blindfolded. Thus in applying the necessary rules of censorship care must be taken that the human interest, which is the mainspring of service, be not unduly oppressed. Everything should be made public which is not detrimental to military purposes. Information of what others in the service are doing and appreciation of accomplishments give a sense of a common cause and braces fortitude.

The plan of "Four-Minute Men" molding opinion by brief addresses on every public occasion at home should extend to the army, speakers to which should, if possible, be enlisted for greater unity of status and thought. The ground such speakers cover should be carefully mapped out in outline by experts. There should also be lectures for officers, with syllabi, not limiting, however, the freedom of the lecturer, and the outlines should be posted and copies given to every officer to use as he best can with his men. Each officer should be encouraged to give simple talks on prescribed topics to the men under his command. Local publications, like camp papers, should be encouraged, if not ordered, and there should be a central agency connected with every part of the service which should furnish papers gratis and news items, and

stories of live, patriotic value. The psychologists of the Sanitary Corps should also prepare brief addresses to officers on the best way to control the mental attitudes of their men, on discipline, etc. The psychological attitude of the German soldier should be analyzed and interpreted; also of the German people. Song writers should be set to work writing patriotic and well-chosen verses with catchy music, and the best should be widely distributed by the government and be eventually printed in an official songbook.

The work of the Committee on Training Camp Activities is of the greatest psychological value—amusements, games, recreations, etc. There should be high-class plays of a patriotic nature for the stage and moving pictures written under government direction and encouragement, and these should be given wide currency among troops, both amateurs and professionals. The Y. M. C. A. should give more movies of this nature and less of the "trashy" kind. There should be select movies used not merely for instruction purposes but as psychic stimuli to familiarize new soldiers with the scenes of war. So far the General Staff has used movies merely to teach the perfection of physical movement, pictures, too, illustrating the ruthlessness and devastation of the enemy, such as the series created by the French government entitled "In the Wake of the Huns."

Religion is one of the most powerful supports of morale, giving mental strength in adversity and confi-

dence in the outcome of undertakings, as history abundantly shows, and this agency should be developed. The German belief in the indivisibility of God and the Kaiser is one of the chief sources of mental steadfastness. Chaplains should be systematically utilized in psychic stimulation, and their services should be not merely religious but they should treat of the ethics of nations and individuals. A committee of chaplains should suggest suitable Bible texts for sermons and outline their applications to existing military and political conditions, to the honor, truth, faith, and mercy for which this country stands versus dishonor, deceit, and cruelty. They should prepare addresses for other than religious days, *e. g.*, Memorial and all holidays. The best outlines should be published and sent to all chaplains for their use, and the school for their training at Fort Monroe furnishes a convenient agency for this work.

The War Department should take up morale vigorously and without ostentation. The best results are those secured by means not too obvious. There should be much confidential literature and yet the general press should be furnished with everything that soldiers or civilians ought to know. Such training in morale would not be the same here as with our troops abroad, but it ought to make men better and more indomitable as soldiers, as well as making them eventually better citizens and Americans.

By way of realization of the above ideas of Brigadier-General Munson, Camp Greenleaf at Fort Ogle-

thorpe, Georgia, had already been established. On May 31, the department of military psychology here submitted by request a detailed program to the commandant, which was adopted, and a camp morale officer was appointed to develop a wholesome mental attitude toward the service and to make induction to it as pleasant and profitable as possible. To this end the personnel branch was utilized, as well as the facilities of the Y. M. C. A., K. of C., Jewish Welfare Board, and the various committees on Training Camp Activities.

A large tent was erected near the point where soldiers arrived and departed. An assistant morale officer, with a detachment of thirty-five enlisted men from the school of Military Psychology, was detailed to initiate this work, with the idea of standardizing the method in one battalion so that it could be applied to other sections of the camp and adopted as a program throughout the country. After a trial period of several weeks the following scheme was adopted: (I) The intensive phase of it was to stimulate the morale of the recruit from detrainment until he left this camp two weeks later; (II) the extensive phase pertained to this later development elsewhere.

I. Under this plan all troop trains were met by morale officers, who encouraged the recruits to sing and cheer on the march to camp. On arrival there they were instructed by the morale sergeant in their primary adjustments, taught how to make their beds, and informed as to the location of mess halls, latrines,

and wash-houses. They were given an unusually good first meal whatever time of day they arrived. A bath was part of the immediate program. All instruction was given in the spirit of friendly counsel rather than by the method of trial and error. On the morning of their first day in camp all were rostered by companies and led to the information tent, which was also the headquarters of the morale work, where they were given a tag bearing the inscription: "You are now a soldier of the United States, a soldier selected by your country to fight for the freedom of the world. Walk like a soldier. Think like a soldier. Act like a soldier. Be a soldier. This is not easy to do at first, and there may be things that you do not understand. Never mind. All good soldiers have learned to do the same things that you are learning to do. Remember you follow a flag that has never led in an unjust war. Remember that the American army has never yet been defeated. Do your part and it never can be. Keep your head up, your eyes open, and *smile.*" On the reverse side of this tag was stamped the recruit's company and camp address, with a blank space for his autograph, so that it served the double purpose of identification and inspiration.

The morale sergeant then directed the recruits to the amphitheater where they received a copy of the pamphlet on social hygiene, "Keeping Fit to Fight," and were given an informal talk covering the nature of a detention camp, boundaries, relation to a permanent organization, reasons for detention, assur-

ance against contagious diseases, vaccination, inoculation, venereal diseases, the athletic program, library, "the sick sergeant," letter-writing, clothing, food, and discipline, and the general qualities of the soldier. They were then taught a lively army song, and were welcomed by the chaplain, who in a short address inculcated the duties of absolute obedience, instructed them concerning the friendly attitude of officers, told of the aims of the war, of the character of the enemy, dangers of homesickness, etc.

Then each was conducted to a suitable place in which to write a letter home, in which had to be included the following letter signed by the battalion commander and addressed to the friends at home. The letter was as follows:

"——— has arrived safely at this camp. He will remain here for some time getting used to army life and learning the first simple things that our soldiers must know. The army supplies him with clothing, good food, comfortable quarters, and medical attendance. But in another way your help is desired. Give him the support of your confidence and cheer. Write to him often. Getting mail is a big event in the soldier's day, and getting none is a real disappointment. If pleasant things happen at home, write him about them. If you are proud of him, tell him so. *Let him know that you are back of him.* Don't be worried if your first letters to him are delayed; this is bound to happen sometimes. Keep writing just the same and we will see that he gets all

you write, even if it takes a little time. Remember always that you, too, are part of the American army —you are the army of encouragement and enthusiasm. Write letters filled with these things to your soldier and you will help us to help him. His address is ——."

This letter served a double purpose, that of informing the people at home of the safe arrival of the soldier and of enlisting civilian support. Very many replies to these letters were received by the battalion commander which show their great value as a stimulus of civilian morale as well as that of the soldier.

The "sick sergeant" in each company was a source of general information, disseminating notices and programs, leading in mass athletics and singing, and in addition taking charge of the mail and in general doing all he could to build up morale. He especially cared for sick-calls, rest-periods, and evenings. He organized inter-company games, etc.

As to entertainments, there were many—vaudeville, boxing, wrestling, band and other concerts, mass singing, motion pictures, dramatics, inspirational addresses, war talks, and talent was generally selected from the soldiers themselves, the morale sergeant always being on the lookout for any kind of entertaining ability, giving the recruits try-outs, and putting those who excelled on larger circuits. These morale sergeants met daily to discuss problems, report activities, suggest improvements, etc. On departure from the detention camp the soldiers received

a brief farewell talk. Here, although best of all at Camp Gordon, special efforts were made to instruct foreigners in English.

In France each division had its morale organization and the seventh, especially, had what was called a "welfare officer." Stress was laid upon evening entertainments. Every evening there was one lasting two and a half hours under the direction of the morale organization, while many more local ones were given in the huts of the different organizations.

Religion was recognized as an adjuvant of morale, but this was generally left to special agents of the different religious bodies, and the policy of the officers was that of "Hands Off." All in all, the methods inaugurated at Greenleaf, according to one estimate, raised the initial morale of soldiers some 30 per cent. above the average, but such things are of course hard to estimate.

II. In what was called extensive morale representatives of all agencies—singing, library work, the Red Cross, entertainment, athletics, etc., got together and compared notes and harmonized their methods and ideals. Special attention was given to the social evil by tracts on venereal disease, prostitution, and also on alcohol, as this work is represented as perhaps even more vital than any other for morale. Those capable of entertaining were relieved from afternoon duty and were put on a special schedule, and improvements in their specialty were suggested and urged. It was found necessary to provide not only

segregated activities of all these sorts but special officers for colored troops. Certain films were tried out and found so much more effective than others that attempts were made to standardize them. Information was posted on bulletin boards, and great use was made of posters, cartoons, mottoes, and slogans. Special postal cards were devised with inspirational illustrations and to minimize the effort of writing home at least every two weeks, which was required, and especially when informing home relatives promptly of every change in address. A questionnaire was addressed to 15,000 men asking each to specify grievances, disappointments, improvements, etc., whether he looked to the future with confidence or dread, and who, if anyone, or what had hindered or helped his development as a good soldier. The results of this are not yet accessible.[1]

The civilized world has more and more felt the need of morale education, and many very diverse schemes to that end have been devised.[2] But there are still many who doubt with Socrates whether virtue can really be taught. No one who has studied the Greenleaf scheme can doubt that morale, which is a somewhat different thing, can be inculcated. If all the ideals of that camp were realized, as they might

[1] In the above characterization I have been materially aided by the informal report of this work made out for me by Mr. H. D. Fryer, who supplied me with various typewritten but as yet unprinted memoranda and circulars, including the Yerkes report of July, 1918, and pamphlets, the special publications of the American Social Hygiene Association, etc.

[2] See a description of these many methods in my *Educational Problems*, i, Chapter 5.

have been if the war had lasted longer and these schemes had been more evolved, the world would have had here an object lesson of the highest value. Had this work been finished, it would have greatly reduced the pathetic abatement of individual and army morale all the way from the soldier's induction into service to his home-coming, discharge, and his reënlistment in work. As it was, each of these stages, although much was done to counteract this tendency, marked a decline of morale. Here we could have learned many lessons from England if we had chosen to, but if another war ever comes we shall do vastly better. All in all, the story of what was done at Greenleaf for those who passed through its two weeks' course, each day of which was minutely scheduled even to the menus of each of its meals, has not only its inspiration but its lessons for civilian industrial and educational life. Every business concern should have, along with its psychological testers and the evaluation of its industrial efficiency, its morale specialists, and so should educational institutions; and possibly sometime each political party, each trade, each social organization, and perhaps each church to develop its own *esprit de corps* and to keep it at the top of its condition, as chivalry and the medieval guilds did so well. We need to realize anew and more and more clearly that the ultimate human value of every occupation and institution is what it contributes to develop and sustain personal and general morale, and that the effectiveness with which they do

this is the standpoint from which every other aim and achievement and even production itself is a by-product. Even the war was, on the whole, a good or bad thing for the world as it advanced or lessened the morale of the nations that had a part in it.

CHAPTER XII

MORALE AND REHABILITATION OF THE WOUNDED.[1]

The state of mind of the maimed soldier and how it has been met—The marvelous work of the surgeon—The persuader—What is done in the various countries to restore the soldier to efficiency and settle him in a vocation—Success here second to no other triumph of morale.

If the average sound soldier felt the contrast between the enthusiasm with which he was sent off to the war and the acclaim with which he was welcomed home again on the one hand, and the cooler and more discriminating spirit that he found on reëntering in-

[1] The chief journals devoted to rehabilitation are (a) In England, *Recalled to Life:* A Journal Devoted to the Care, Reëducation, and Return to Civil Life of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (first No., June, 1917) and *Reveille*, began in August, 1918. (b) In this country the Surgeon-General's office in January, 1918, began publishing typewritten bulletins on recent literature on reconstruction and reëducation which in the following June was continued in the journal, *Carry On*. Our government has also issued a special series of bulletins (No. 30 appeared in April, 1919) on different aspects of this work. See, too, E. T. Devine's Carnegie report on *Disabled Soldiers and Sailors Pensions and Training* (N. Y., 1919). The Red Cross has published two series of pamphlets on various aspects of the subject. (c) In France we have *Larousse Médical* since 1917 (copiously illustrated). (d) In Germany we have *Kriegsinvalidenfürsorge* since 1916.

Besides this serial material there is a literature on the subject far too voluminous to cite. See Dr. R. F. Fox's *Physical Remedies for Disabled Soldiers* (London, 1917); A. Broca and Ducroquet's *Artificial Limbs*. Tr. by R. C. Elmslie (London, 1918); R. T. MacKenzie's *Reclaiming the Maimed* (N. Y., 1919); G. Harris' *Redemption of the Disabled* (N. Y., Appleton, 1919); D. C. McMurtrie's *The Disabled Soldier* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1919); H. C. Marr's *Psychoses of the War* (London, Baillière, 1919); also *The Physiology of Industrial Organization*, by J. Amar. (Paris, 1917). In this and subsequent publications the author was one of the first to try to analyze the movements in occupations and their relations to physiological principles. For a single set of articles I find nothing better than that of Thomas Gregory's in *World's Work* (Aug., 1918.)

dustrial life on the other, this contrast was far sharper for the wounded. True, employers in some firms at first discriminated in favor of the wounded soldier, but this spirit always and everywhere tends to yield sooner or later to that of efficiency, which can afford to pay a man for only the services he is actually able to render. Some enthusiastic girls, also hospital and Red Cross nurses, married the maimed and even accepted "baskets" (a gruesome army slang word for those who have lost all four limbs) as husbands, but this pitch of fervor was rare and also transient, for pity and love cannot long be confounded. Thus the returned soldier who is seriously mutilated or invalided, of which the war has produced several millions, is in fact in a pathetic condition. The possibility of having to exhibit his mutilations on the street and begging from passers-by is something the self-respecting veteran, who has heard wounds suffered in his country's service called glorious, feels to be as bitter as death itself, and it is a shame for any country to permit it, as many often have in the past, sometimes even to those to whom it has given pensions. Very careful examinations of the discharged were wisely planned to prevent unjustifiable claims for after-effects of the war, which are often such a burden and were so especially after our Civil War, when for many years the total pension budget increased inversely as the number of survivors.

In the first place, the maimed man generally has his physical vitality and vigor more or less reduced,

and perhaps his mental tone is lowered; hence he has less courage in facing life than before. Again, the very members most essential in his occupation may be gone or incapacitated so that he must start all over again in a new line of work, and this is more discouraging for the skilled craftsman than for the unskilled laborer. Finally, many wounds so disfigure the body and even the face that the victim shrinks from being seen, and he may be a painful object even to those nearest and dearest to him. Thus he tends to feel himself useless and dependent, his pride is galled, and he may despair, although he rarely commits suicide. He more often grows suspicious that his disfigurement has abated love of wife, children, and friends, that their devotions are from a sense of duty and perhaps performed with inner repugnance. Sometimes instinct inclines him to compensate for these feelings by arrogance and domineering authority to compel what he fears love falters in doing. Who save those who have suffered thus can conceive the inner tortures of an athlete suddenly made a cripple for life or of an attractive face made ugly and repellent, suggesting in some cases a disposition the very opposite of that which really exists.

Again, it is not surprising that the seriously wounded soldier should thus gravitate more or less strongly, according to circumstances and disposition, toward a state of mind in which the typical case feels that he has made unwonted sacrifices for his country, which should henceforth care for him, and also perhaps that

his friends and family should very gladly serve him. His exceptional sacrifices demand exceptional recognition and reward. If it is glorious to die for one's country, it is hardly less but more glorious to be mutilated in its service. He is at least more heroic than those who came through without scathe. He has "done his bit and got his hit" and now the nation he has helped to save owes him a comfortable living. This obligation was almost implied in the sentiment with which he was sent off to the front, and he feels neglected and deems the world ungrateful. At the institutions for convalescents (*e. g.,* the Walter Reed and other such hospitals) the persuaders and encouragers found this attitude not at all uncommon and one of the very hardest to meet or modify. This state of mind was, of course, more common among those who enlisted under the allurements of our methods of recruiting volunteers but has been only less frequent among those drafted. It may make men pessimistic but it rarely goes so far as to make them conscious parasites, though it may make them enemies of even our industrial society.

Now it is just these two classes of cases which illustrate the most utter debacle of morale. But it is also upon some of these that morale has wrought its most marvelous regenerations, for both the despair of the first and the cynicism of the latter class have been triumphantly overcome, although we must frankly admit that there have been some of both who resisted all cure.

First of all the agencies of rehabilitation comes surgery with its now marvelous arsenal of ever new, more refined and effective methods, which have made it such a power for morale as well as for physical salvage. The soldier is young, in good condition, rarely suffers from operative phobia, and in general makes a good patient. Many are at first reconciled to disablement because it means a furlough or perhaps "blighty" for good, and are grateful to fate because it is better at least than "going West," a spirit that may, though happily rarely does, culminate in malingering, magnifying symptoms, and possibly in self-inflicted wounds; while a few heroic souls chafe under everything that interferes with getting back into the fray.

Men with faces shattered ("gargoyles" or Calibans) are given, *e. g.*, new noses made out of perhaps their own rib-bone covered by a flap or two of skin from a part of the face that can be later covered by a false beard. An artificial jaw may be fitted by the aid of a plaster cast with paraffin, or a new and carefully molded cheek is made to conform as nearly as possible to the photograph of the patient before his injury, and these and even ears are usually supported in some way by glasses. When we read not only of plastic surgery but of the grafting of glands and the substitution of parts and organs in the living man by those taken from animals and even cadavers, we wonder whether, along the line of these methods, life may not sometime be rejuvenated, and we think of

bold and clever romances like "The Heart of Don Vega," whose old heart was physically replaced by a new one, with a change of disposition; or of the clever story by an anonymous author of the man who had a new brain. Skull disfigurements are cleverly disguised, and not only eyes and teeth but ears are replaced by artificial ones, and all these facial surgeries restore those who would otherwise be isolated from the commerce of life. As to limbs, there is a far less percentage of amputations than ever before, not only of feet and legs, which are far more often wounded and more often require this treatment than do hands and arms, but even the latter can be replaced by extremely ingenious devices so intricate that only long practice gives skill enough to bring out all their possibilities. Some of these artificial limbs are standardized but others have been evolved by individuals, with fingers working by springs released by rolling balls held in grooves, which with sufficient skill can perform very many of the functions of the normal hand.[2] With various sockets and inserts very many different things can be done and tools, perhaps modified, can be used, and not a few patients have invented ingenious devices to meet their own type of need. Not only tools but sometimes industrial processes have been modified, and this was done before the armistice in more than four-score occupations, which

[2] P. Martinier and G. Lemerle: *Injuries of the Face and Jaw and Their Repair*, Lond., Baillière, 1917; and G. Seccombe Hett: *Methods of Repair of Wounds of the Nose and Nasal Accessory Sinuses* Proc. Royal Soc. of Med., XII, No. 8, July, 1919.

have been thus fitted to the maimed as they have been to these callings. Some cripples before as well as those made by the war have become prodigies of rehabilitation, like L. Simms (Outlook, September 11, 1918) who at six lost both hands by amputation midway between the wrist and elbow, but went through Oberlin College, became superintendent of schools, and tells us that he can thread a needle and sew, use the typewriter and piano, shave, shoot, write, dress and undress, etc. We have also the noted case of M. J. Dowling, who some thirty-six years ago had hands and feet frozen off in a Minnesota blizzard, and is now a bank president and director of various institutions. Such men are a splendid object lesson to the maimed and are brought as examples of courage and perseverance to hospitals for war cripples. Fourteen of these "encouragers" have been brought to this country from France.

But it is when surgery and mechanical devices have done their best that the higher work of morale for these cases really begins. There was often, especially in England, a very persistent idea that if the crippled learned to earn, his pension might be diminished, and even effective legislation to prevent this did not entirely obviate the need of personal persuasion and counter-assurance. When a new occupation must be chosen, it should be as near the old one as possible, and thus choice requires much discrimination and a wise adviser can here often be of great help.

First of all, the subject must realize that, as Gregory puts it, when a man loses his leg it affects his thinking perhaps even more than it does his walking for he is liable to lose his nerve, at least for a time. Rehabilitation is hardly more a question of arms, legs, and eyesight than it is of point of view of the cripple himself and also that of his friends and of the public. He must not be cobbled up, pensioned, and turned loose to become a tramp or peddler of shoestrings or pencils, as was too often the case after our Civil War, nor merely given an official job by the government, as was the case in Germany and France after the War of 1870. He is handicapped but not done for. Our half million cripples not only in the hospital but in the curative workshop, one of which was attached to every army corps, must develop new ambitions and aims. The mind must be focused on the object as a product and not on the process of making it. He must come to think of himself not as marred but of what he can do. He should be given occupations even in bed, where he is liable to form habits of moping, drifting, and being waited on. It is in work that brings results and awakens interest, so that stiff joints slowly grow flexible and strength increases, that the value lies, and when these increments are measured by the protractor and dynamometer, even if the restoration is slow it gives buoyancy instead of depression. This result is, however, often best if disregarded and left one side as a by-product. A man

tired with working a foot-treadle, *e. g.,* designed only to restore the lost power of movement in the leg, if put to fret-work on a jigsaw finds his rate of improvement in leg power augmented. The notion of his helplessness must be stamped out.

Our government and others have made very interesting collections of stories of men who have encountered such handicaps, and it has many movies showing cripples engaged in not only many kinds of occupations but in a great variety of games; while there is a long list of devices and inventions, some petty and individual and some of great and general significance, made by cripples not only to help themselves but for the benefit of their comrades in misfortune. Besides this wonderful collection there is in the Surgeon-General's office an illustrated book made up of the life histories of cripples who have succeeded, a copy of which is now accessible to every disabled soldier or sailor. It was also designed to help the "cheer-up" squad, for these "twice heroes" show what grit and pluck can do.

The state of mind of the cripples, as Gregory so well puts it, thus needs great attention. Patriotic hysteria in the first year of the war so glorified the wounded soldier that the police hesitated to arrest him for almost any excess. In France many at first became habitual drunkards, and here only four per cent were willing to go back to their old jobs as wage-earners. Coddling, overadulation, and hospitalitis, which result from long being served and doing

nothing, well illustrate how mistaken treatment denothing, well illsutrate how mistaken treatment destroys morale. The nation's gratitude must not spoil its heroes, and even their friends must expect them to play men's parts and not lapse toward the plane of pauperism. Then after this first flush of enthusiasm came the era of preferential employment. Pennsylvania, *e. g.,* alone provided industrial positions for 42,111 American disabled soldiers and sailors, and in France there was the same process of spoiling by unwise solicitude, followed by a new régime. But this stage quickly passed. Employers are patriotic but they cannot long be expected to engage these men unless it is a sound business proposition. Some ten per cent of the four thousand members of our National Association of Manufacturers agreed to employ disabled men, but there were ever more discriminations. Thus the war cripple must eventually succeed or fail according to the worth of the service he can render.

Countries differ greatly in their programs all the way from where the surgeon leaves the soldier through his complete reëducation and industrial rehabilitation in society. The Gorgas conference in January, 1918, drew up an excellent plan and bill which Congressional politics killed. Of all countries Canada has by general consent done best. Some would have the individual not discharged from the army but kept under military control until he is self-supporting or at least has reached his maximum of efficiency. This plan, however, has nowhere been

adopted save in Belgium, and there for the most part with only skilled laborers, because it is deemed an unwarrantable interference with personal liberty, and also because to realize the best that is in an individual his own interest must be a source of chief appeal. In the Red Cross Institution in New York City, under the patronage of the Millbank gift, vocational teachers have been given courses on the industrial needs. In France the most remarkable institution is *L'Ecole Joffre*. It was founded at Charleroi by M. Anzer Besaque, and when the Germans destroyed it, he drifted to Lyons, where he met the famous mayor, Herriot, one of the most picturesque figures in France. Here it was that the above-named school developed. In France reëducation was mainly under military discipline, with a view to the soldier's return to the army, and industrial training there is voluntary. In Great Britain men are discharged too soon and too much liberty is given to break off training if it becomes irksome. In Queen Mary's convalescent hospital are concentrated all the artificial limbs, and here men go after amputation. The Queen gave the workshop, where each patient is given a leaflet describing the courses so that he may choose wisely. Although only the beginnings are taught here, the soldier's mind is taken off his injuries and he lives in an atmosphere of usefulness. When he acquires his limb, he goes to Roehampton, where he is given more leaflets, listens to lectures, is given advice, etc. Sir Arthur Pearson, himself blind,

has provided for blind soldiers. St. Dunstan's, given by Otto Kahn of New York, has several annexes. This institution to-day represents the very last and best thing that civilization can yet do for the blind. The Lord Roberts' Memorial Workshop, opened just after the South African war, has set the fashion for half a dozen others. Then, too, soldiers are encouraged to settle on land. There are innumerable smaller efforts by philanthropic individuals and organizations. Since May, 1917, and the Interallied Conference, the allied nations have united to make this work more effective.

Physical, mental, and moral therapy go hand in hand. Medical electrotherapy, X-rays, douches, massage, hydrotherapy, light, artificial air-currents, plays and games, occupations as treatment, scores of appliances, some suggested by the Zander apparatus, and testing and measuring every degree of improvement, protractors, *e. g.,* to test foot-drop, ab- and adduction, pro- and supination, etc.—all these show the singular ingenuity which physical therapy has developed in meeting the emergencies of war and in adapting everything to the vast variety of individual cases. Now the same is true with the war psychasthenias. Horrible recurrent dreams, *e. g.,* may be banished by painting or by narrating them.[3] A phobia can be abated by tracing it to its roots in an experience of childhood; mental vacuity and helplessness by successfully prospecting through the pa-

[3] See H. C. Marr: *The Psychoses of the War,* 60 et seq., Lond., Frowde, 1919.

tient's life and mind for something that profoundly affects his personality. In some cases it is necessary to go back to and repeat school-room topics and methods, perhaps even in more simple form than in the school itself, and thus to build up a new personality. Often the psychotherapist finds it very hard to discover a point of interest vital enough to start from. Each day in the process of analysis presents new problems which must be met by new methods. In the more purely morale cases the chief task is to find or make a motive and a goal for rehabilitation not only in making the patient feel that life and his efforts are worth while but in giving him the most indispensable preparedness for his new life, viz., hope and confidence. The example of those who have best overcome most of the obstacles due to disablement is one of the most precious of all the moral inspirations of the war and should be spread before the young in all lands, beside the story of great men who rose from obscurity and by dint of their own efforts have impressed themselves upon history, and also along with the record of the most heroic war martyrs who have fallen in battle, in order that youth may be heartened in fighting its way to success. A man who has been shattered in body and mind and nevertheless succeeds in making good, despite his infirmities and in face of the many subtle temptations within and without to be a laggard, is a true hero of morale, of whose life even a nation seeking rehabilitation from the ravages of war should take heed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LABOR PROBLEM

The necessity of studying and realizing the fundamental needs of Labor everywhere for food, domestic life, ownership, recreation, work, intellectual activity, and association with fellow-men—The power of Labor to reconstruct the world not realized by Capital.

Since the Industrial Revolution and the unhappy antagonism of Capital and Labor, with at first the former and now, especially during and since the war, the latter tending to subordinate the other, the world has entered upon a new era, and a new and higher morale here, too, is imperative, and industrial practice, legislation, and public opinion must take new cues from the *Zeitgeist*. We must realize that in all lines of production labor is no longer a commodity but a partner and must be accepted sympathetically as an intelligent coöperator, and that the long, sad history of sweating, strikes, riots, sabotage, injunctions, and the rest, represent a dark-age period that we must emerge from and which has not been creditable to our insight into the fundamental laws of human nature.

Industry is the chief trait of our nation and of our age. One estimate is that it now absorbs nine-tenths of all human ability, mental and physical. Moreover, business and its methods and interests more and more dominate politics, education, science,

and, in a sense, also religion. It makes war or peace, prosperity or decline. It is economic interests that will eventually find or make a way of adjusting the claims of the superman versus Bolshevism, of capital versus labor, and of the classes versus the masses generally. To this system the morale of the workman is no less important than that of the soldier in the war. Not only his physical but his mental condition is all-determining. It is here, therefore, that we must reconsider basal human impulses, often more unconscious than conscious, and inventory and grade the main determining tendencies that constitute the normal motives of man's behavior, the thwarting of which makes most of the troubles in individual, social, and economic life. These play a rôle in industry as fundamental as the categories have in the history of philosophic thought, and we must seek them where Aristotle found his, viz., in the market place, rather than by psychological analysis. They are not simple but genetic and elemental and instinctive, and we shall find far more help from writers like Carleton Parker[1] and Ordway Tead[2] than from the more scientifically psychologic writ-

[1] *Motives in Economic Life.* Amer. Econ. Rev. Sup. March, 1918, and *The I. W. W.* Atlan., Nov., 1917.

[2] *Instincts in Industry. A Study of Working-Class Psychology.* 232, Bost., 1918.

[3] Supplemented, perhaps, by writers like Glenn Frank and R. W. Bruère; Spargo *(Americanism and Social Democracy,* N. Y., Harper, 1918); A. Henderson *(Aims of Labor,* N. Y., Huebsch, 1919); Boyd Fisher *(Industrial Loyalty,* Lond., 1918); P. S. Grant, *(Fair Play for the Worker);* Meyer Bloomfield *(Management and Men,* N. Y., Century, 1919); W. L. MacKenzie King *(Industry and Humanity,* N. Y., Houghton, Mifflin, 1918); E. E. Schoonmaker *(The World Storm and Beyond,* N. Y., Century, 1915).

ings of McDougall, Thorndike, Shand, or from characterology generally. The more important of these human impulses and needs may be tabbed off as follows:—

1. Food. When this is abundant and fit, men tend to be contented; and when it is scanty or ill-adapted to their nutritive needs they become uneasy, restless, and seize upon anything however untoward to objectify and justify their discontent. The Pawlow philosophy has given us a vastly broader basis for realizing the importance of this factor of human well-being. Studies of the "conditioned reflex" suggest to us what the very position of the senses near the entrance to the alimentary canal (because all of them were originally food-finders and testers) long taught in biology, that a large part of not only animal but of human activity consists in the quest for and provision of adequate food supply. Fasting and incipient starvation have motivated the great migrations of animals and men, and the home and hearth lose much of their attraction if the table there spread is not adapted to make for growth or restoration of tissue lost by activity. Hence the well-known significance of all sumptuary laws and regulations. Now, too, that prohibition has removed the long-accustomed physiological reënforcement that drink once gave, which also made men more content with inadequate fare, we cannot doubt that we have here a source of aggravation to present discontent; while the scanty food allowance which the war necessitated in

European lands has had a no less profound effect on the morale of these peoples. The prime need, then, not only of labor but of mankind generally is to be well nourished, and that labor enjoys this fundamental condition of stability should be the first object of inquiry where conditions are to be studied, for there is no more fundamental need of life. Metabolic insufficiency has of late been recognized for school children as a cause of truancy, irritability, apathy, insubordination, and even vice and crime. The same is true of armies. But we have not yet learned that it is no less true of communities in time of peace and perhaps most of all for laborers. Napoleon said an army "fights on its belly," and the same is true of the army of toilers. The old materialists, Büchner and Moleschott, based their system on the phrase, "Man is what he eats," and now the Russian school of physiologists are amplifying this view and telling us that we not only eat but think, feel, act, etc. as we digest, and are even interpreting the higher psychic powers of man on a metabolic basis. Just how food shortage throughout the entire Occident has predisposed its population to revolution only the expert, and not even he can yet entirely explain. But the obvious lesson of it all is that every great industry needs not only its Hoover to insure an adequate supply but its practical dietitian to investigate and suggest ways of reaching the sources and the cures of discontent in this field. If alimentary conditions had been kept at

their optimum and every organ and tissue had been well nourished, and enough fit food had been at the command of the laborer's purse, there would have been far less labor trouble throughout the world of late. Here the new trophic psychology has a vast field for its practical application. Never was there such need for and such sure advantage to our entire industrial system from our teaching the girls and women of the working classes what and how to buy, how to cook, flavor, and even serve foods and drinks to make them appetizing, for appetite, we now know, gives the momentum not only to digestion as it is generally understood but to all the higher and later processes of assimilation; while fasting in all the studies that have been made of its conditions makes restlessness by far its chief behavioristic concomitant.

2. Next to hunger comes love as a psychic world-power, the one conserving the individual and the other perpetuating the race. From the teens on the sexes must meet wholesomely. Each needs all the influence from the other to mature aright, especially from early adolescence well on into the age of full nubility. Dancing, for instance, is at this age almost a primitive instinct and can be made a far more potent regulative of morale at these susceptible years than the world has yet realized.

Every normal individual wants to mate and enjoy family life. Working as well as all other girls must have means, too, to deck themselves appropriately,

for without this they easily lose all self-respect and are exposed to the greatest temptations. A best dress or suit, and occasionally a dressing up in it, is itself a factor of morale for both sexes. Even before marriage interest in the other sex tends to stabilize each, and wedlock and the added responsibilities it entails do this yet more. Every family must have its home and be able to rear its children decently. Whatever thwarts phyloprogenetic instincts is not only wasteful but dangerous, for psychanalysis has lately opened a vast new field here for both theory and practice. It has compelled us to regard almost everything connected with the transmission of the sacred torch of life in a new light and taught us how many of the diseases not only of the individual but of society, and in some sense particularly of industrial life, are due to derangements of the erotic and domestic life. Wage-scales need not perhaps, as they now sometimes are, be supplemented by bonuses for babies, but such scales should always discriminate in favor of employees with families. The workman's appreciation of good schools for his children make these an asset of growing worth in the labor market, while licentiousness in a community is an industrial disability.

3. A third instinct only a little less primeval is that of ownership. Everyone, except hoboes or extreme communists, who though still found in theory are very rare in our greedy age, craves something he can call all his very own property, and the unique

extension of his personality to all its interests which it thus gives. With no provision against sickness, old-age pensions or insurance, "lay-offs," and other exigencies, the workman feels insecure and is ready to listen to radicalism just in proportion as he feels that change would not make things worse for him. Ownership not only widens interest and makes for conservatism but gives a sense of personal worth, independence, or freedom of thought and action, of having a place and function in the social order; and also, what is perhaps yet more important, it safeguards against a sense of the injustice of an industrial system that exacts a man's best endeavor for a bare subsistence; while if he sees no chance or hope of ever getting ahead, despair sooner or later supervenes, and desperation is the most dangerous and inflammable explosive of all psychic states. Immigrants who have been lured to our shores by extravagant hopes of easy wealth suffer most by the great disillusion that they experience and so fall easiest prey to the ever-active agencies of discontent. A laborer who has toiled hard all his life and at sixty is laid off as no longer useful, with nothing laid up and hence dependent on his relatives, is an economic burden both to himself and to the community, and the worst thing about it all is the rankling, festering sense of injustice, which is not much mitigated by the fact that even early in life discouragement may have made him improvident and have aborted the instinct for acquisition.

4. This brings us to another fundamental instinct, viz., play, amusement, or recreation. Everyone, especially those who lead the drab life of the modern toiler, needs and craves an occasional "good time." Indeed we all need to glow, tingle, and feel life intensely now and then. We want our affective nature stirred to its nethermost depths. Our souls as well as our bodies are erethic, and it seems as though our blood needed sometimes to be flushed with adrenalin. These second-breath states and impulses need legitimate cultivation because thus only can the individual learn to draw upon his racial resources. Orgies of sex and drink are the easiest and commonest vents of this instinct to "life more and fuller" for which the soul pants, and to find proper vicariates is one of the chief *considerata* of the morale of labor, as it is indeed of morale in other fields. The degenerate plebs of Rome ranked the demand for circuses beside that for bread. All animals, as well as men, seek pleasure and avoid pain, and if they must suffer, they seek compensation for it. The algedonic scale is a long one, ranging all the way from ecstasy to agony, and the tranquillity of both the individual and society depends upon the proportions in which these sovereign masters of life really dominate it. Here we especially need "the new Sunday." Although the old Puritanical gloom is fast passing, the Church makes now almost no claim upon Sunday afternoon and evening, though it generally "sits tight" against opening them to games, dramas, and other well-cho-

sen and uplifting amusements lest the day be "Europeanized." We need here a commission to rescue from the present neglectful, wasteful, and often vicious influences this great western holiday by suggesting programs that will make it the happiest day of the week, and it is labor that most needs this.

5. By nature, or at least by second nature, man is a worker. He must do and make things and enjoy the advantages that come from all that he does or makes well or he is a slave. The struggle of one party to get the most work for the least pay, and of the other to get the most pay for the least work is the nadir of industrial morale and involves the greatest of all economic wastes, a waste that will never cease until labor shares both profits and management and the interests of both these moieties of the processes of production are thus identified. Nothing less will ever bring industrial peace and check "sojering" on the one side and exploitation on the other. Few employers realize how hard most men will work if the rewards of their endeavors are fair and sure and in some kind of proportion to their effort. Normally man is a striver and he will even drudge if it pays in betterment of his condition and if his loyalty be enlisted. Labor should have relative permanence, and instead of the present disastrous turnovers there should be a new identification of interests. Just in proportion as work is made equitably profitable, man in general wants more not less of it. He is not by nature lazy, shiftless, or improvident but is made so by

abnormal conditions. Veblen is right; there is an instinct for workmanship that if we could only appeal to aright, would almost redeem man from the ancient curse of his fabled fall and realize many ideals now often thought to be unattainable.

6. The need of mentation. One of the chief traits of man as distinct from animals is his larger brain and his highly, some think abnormally developed intellect. Curiosity is perhaps the earliest expression of the basal noetic instinct and is well developed in many animals. All educational systems, libraries, the press, science, and even myth, gossip, and espionage, were evolved to satisfy this craving. Ignorance is asphyxia and every normal soul craves more knowledge. Tests of mentality show how mistaken it is to assume that the illiterate are *eo ipso* inferior or less truly wise than the learned. The mind of man was never so active and alert as it is to-day. Politics, local, national, and international; labor problems, strikes, with which the world to-day fairly boils; war and peace methods, social problems, ever wider industrial relations, automobiles, which every bright young man wants to understand, a larger view of all agricultural methods and devices, land transportation, steel, mining, ships, immigration, machinery,—all these are stimulating and developing the intellect far more, on the whole, than schooling ever succeeded in doing. The workman thinks close to facts, and these are so very thought-provoking that the impulse to deal with them can often even overcome his fa-

tigue. But the tired man is prone to extreme and radical views because they are easiest, and inclines toward trial-and-error methods because the surplus energy that feeds the impulse to intellectualize is insufficient. And yet even thus he makes hundreds of inventions, great and small, every year and countless helpful suggestions of improvement in processes, management, and even organization, many of which are of high survival value. Even the academic phrases of Marx and the idealism of the Fabians and guildists, although they diverted psychic energy from hard reality toward idealism, gave much, with a wholesome ferment that at least did a great deal to overcome inertia and stimulate rationalizing activities. Industrial night- and trade-schools are doing ever more, but life and industry themselves give an even more firmly organized brain tissue, and the workman is extending his purview to include employers' problems, markets, and trade conditions; and all this works to overcome the evils of catch phrases and the law of least effort. The sooner we learn that labor now has a mind of its own and a very good, keen, well-stored, and resourceful one, more and more able to hold its own in any forum, court, legislature, or labor conference against employers and capital, and realize all the intellectual agencies it can enlist in its behalf, the better it will be. Its best leaders are men of rare native mental power and sagacity. They can think and talk convincingly, and their leadership is the spontaneous acme of sincerity, of well-matured

and intense conviction. Their creeds are ever more constructive and less destructive. They often have the stuff of which martyrs are made and the best of them are incorruptible. What they most crave is to be taken into the confidences of and into the same kind of partnership with those who control. What they most dread is secret arrangements to the disadvantage of those whom they loyally represent. Thus every appeal to the mentality of labor and every opportunity of the laborer for the kind of culture he wants, as distinguished always from that his employers or even philanthropists and social workers think he ought to have, is a direct asset to efficient production; and to thwart this noetic instinct or even to ignore and neglect it is simply to drive it into perverse, wasteful, and perhaps dangerous channels.

7. Man is the most gregarious of all creatures and he owes his conquest of animals and the material world very largely to this basal instinct which, as Trotter has shown, is hardly less primitive than that of self-preservation. From the huddling of animals for warmth, as Sutherland has shown, to the mob and tribal instinct and up to the club, party, sect, and class, the impulse to act, feel, and think in masses or groups is one of the great primordials. Fashions, creeds, philosophies, unions, schools of thought, folkways, mores, communities,—all show the strength and depth of the human trend toward collectivity. The crowd is very subject to suggestion and must have and is very subordinate to its leaders. It is this in-

stinct that makes solitude so painful and domestic service so discredited, and causes the now world-wide tendency to urban congestion. There is often a conflict of loyalties, *e. g.*, race and language consciousness may be arrayed, especially in polyglot communities, against trade loyalties. The ties of comradeship in arms are very close, and at home the war tended to break down class distinctions, even on the street, and it is this that makes the dispersal of great crowds when aroused so hard and even dangerous. Free association, good-fellowship, and fraternization, therefore, express an instinct that can do great things for good or evil, and if this is thwarted or repressed, men either stagnate and grow cranky or else become fit for "treason, strategy, or spoils." Every hour of idleness and discontent, to say nothing of strikes, fertilizes the germs of Bolshevism.

But there is one great danger that may be characterized here as follows: Science is the very highest embodiment of the principle of reality. It represents the most heroic objective and impersonal attitude of mind. Huxley compared the devotion of the modern investigator to fact and law to the Christian sense of self-surrender and his feeling of absolute dependence upon God and His will. We must give up preconceived ideas and become as little children as contrasted with the self-satisfying processes of thinking under the "pleasure principle." It is incidental that science has conferred so many blessings upon mankind. But while we have utilized it for all kinds of

comforts, we have not really learned its great lesson of the inexorable inviolability of the law of cause and effect. Many if not most strive to lessen pain and toil and to increase and equalize pleasures, which have become the chief quest of man to-day.

Thus the gregarious spirit has one of its culminations in the drift toward the city, where so many inventions can be enjoyed as contrasted with the country where man faces the stern laws of nature. As E. G. Groves well says, "Everything conspires to build into the urban philosophy of life the conviction that the obstacles that hamper human inclination are due to the interference of other people." In the city we feel that we would get all we want but for the conflicting wants of others. Because contacts are chiefly with persons the idea arises that all our thwartings are due to wrongs inflicted upon us by other people, and so they get the blame; while in the country it is nature that checks our purposes. To this source of urban interest must be added the more rapid weakening of older moral and religious restraints by radicalism, the acceleration of the state of mind that feels that we must get everything here and now, the sharper focalization upon the bald economic problem of getting more dollars at once by any means, which seem enhanced in value because they can be exchanged for such intense pleasures, and finally the fact that demagogues and extremists make more promises and arouse more hopes which are unfulfilled. All these tend to lower the tone of city morale.

We must not forget, too, that the closing of the saloon, where men met their friends and which was an important organ for the deployment of the social sense, made it necessary to find another vent for their gregarious instinct in the union or in collective action for the betterment of their condition. (See the chapter on *Prohibition.*)

Labor is now at the greatest crisis in its history. We are told that since the war began, wages have, on on the whole, advanced about 100 per cent., hours have been reduced 10 per cent., and efficiency and output in many industries are to-day only about 80 per cent of the normal. There is only one way of reducing prices for the necessities of life, and that is increased output. To raise wages and lessen output only makes matters worse. Labor in this country is at a parting of the ways, and at the present writing it seems uncertain whether its course will be directed by its conservative leaders or by a more radical group of them. It is significant that in Germany the workmen have lately gone on record as favoring a "ten-hour day, no strikes, and no advance in wages." If the radical element of labor wins control, it will be a heavy blow to all the great American expectations of business leadership in the world to-day. Unionism and probably collective bargaining have come to stay. This involves the right of private, always sharply distinguished in this respect from public utility and governmental officials, to strike if necessary to enforce their demands. It will be hard indeed to bring labor

to give up the right to be represented by delegates of its own choosing whether in the shop or brought in from outside, but the shop that is closed either to members of the union or to those who prefer to stay outside will always result in great and unfair disadvantage, in the one case to the employer and in the other to the laborer. Employers in this country are less awake to the needs of the hour and to the necessity of making concessions to the new demands of the laborer than those in Europe. They do not realize the power of labor nor the dangers of revolution that now impend. Still less do they realize the subtle plea that soviet ideals under various names are now making to labor throughout the world, and it is lamentable that our political leaders have not studied, and therefore vastly underestimate the force of the appeal that labor not only can now but ought everywhere to take the helm and reorganize the world. The best of us have not seen that labor to-day, if it fully realizes its power and can organize, has the world "on the hip" and can radically reconstruct our entire industrial system, destroy all the economic advantages which our size and resources make possible and which we have so fondly counted upon after the war. The gravest of all its bequests to this restoration period is the problem whether we have leaders who are at once informed, sagacious, and foresightful enough to find or make a way out of the present deadlock, which the story of the labor conference at Washington now ought to bring home to all of us. The

morale of Capital and also of Labor and their relations to each other is at present very low, and until there is a new morale for both, we can never have industrial peace. The Whitley report shows that England, owing probably to the better organization of her boards of trade and chambers of commerce, is much farther on in the way of this peace than we are. While this plan could not be adopted without modifications to fit it to our conditions, it is a hopeful sign that if employers like Judge Gary have as yet little conception of the new industrial revolution that is now pending, others like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., with his plan of a hierarchy of joint council from the smaller local plants up to those of national dimensions, have glimpsed a way of setting a backfire to the insidious soviet principle that workers alone shall rule the world.

It now begins to seem not impossible that the time will come sooner or later when we shall have to face the issue between the utter loss of our present productive power and of our industrial and commercial prospects on the one hand or, on the other, the revolutionary reversal of our present restrictions on immigration and import some millions of Asiatic toilers to check the profiteering spirit of labor leaders.

In ancient Rome, the women, Zeller (in his *Vorträge und Abhandlungen*) tells us, were fabled to have struck and declared they would bear no children until the Senate granted them certain rights. This, of course, was a measure far more desperate

than present methods and one not yet resorted to in modern life. He also tells us how when the pipers struck and marched to Tiburnum, they had Rome at their mercy for there could be no sacrifices to the gods, no religious processions, no marriages or funerals. This suggests what might happen if to-day the clergy should strike and close all the churches, the results of which an anonymous recent skit has amplified. In the medieval university students often struck against their dons and also against the municipalities and even kings and popes, and it was thus they won their ancient liberties and privileges; while to-day students and even school classes and teachers themselves have taken similar measures, and it is not entirely inconceivable that our modern educational institutions may thus some day tie up the sources of knowledge. These things may happen on a larger scale, and even courts, legislative bodies, kings, and presidents may follow suit. But even this would be less disastrous in its immediate effects than if the miners combined to freeze us and food producers should conspire to starve us to their terms. Capital might withdraw, and all bankers, millionaires, and heavy stockholders retire with all their holdings to some far off Plutocria of their own, beyond the reach of every confiscatory method, and leave the rest of the world to syndicalists and socialists, and all the wage-earners the world over might at a predetermined day and hour paralyze all occupations. At any rate such vague possibilities may hearten us that the worst has not yet come.

CHAPTER XIV

MORALE AND PROHIBITION

The suddenness and extent of prohibition as one cause of world unrest—Comparisons with the effects of hunger—The rôle of food shortage in the development of the race—Labor meetings as a substitute for the saloon—Projection of alimentary diseasement and the need of stimulation outward.

Practically every great nation and race in history and even savage tribes have had some form of stimulating beverage or drug, and this has often played a very prominent rôle in their social customs and religious rites. Even the Christian Church has utilized wine in one of its chief sacraments. While there have always been ascetics, the great majority of men who have lived on this earth have, at least occasionally, drunk something stronger than water. However convincing the physiological data which favor abstinence may be—and this, I believe, is by no means a closed question—the psychological and social effects of such a stimulus have by no means been sufficiently studied and, what is perhaps no less important, the few and significant data we have in this field have not yet been given their true evaluation.

Not only laborers but the average man and, indeed, his forebears for generations have had their tipple, and for a very large proportion of them beer or light wine has been used habitually and daily. Of these

moderate drinkers there are perhaps few who have put themselves *hors de combat* by a "spree."

Science tells us what few users would deny—that it is not the very best food and even that it has some qualities of poison; but so do some of our habitual foods, as well as tea and coffee. The user, however, insists that it does certain things for him all its own and so persists, if he can, in using it. He believes it rests and happifies him. It may draw a little on his physiological reserves, but he often needs to use it to keep the pace or to be contented. It is a sedative, a banisher of care, trouble, and worry, tending to make one live in the present and banish disquietude about the future and dim unpleasant memories of the past. If it dulls his intelligence a bit, that itself is often a relief. If his food is poor and scanty, he thinks he has something that can to some extent make good the deficit, and he feels dietary shortage or error less consciously. If his wages are small and his work hard, he has a solace.

The saloon is a social as well as dietetic institution and it also stimulates the sociability and good fellowship so satisfying to gregarious man. In the saloon many find one of the chief joys of life. They feel relaxation and stimulus combined in proportions which are most agreeable, and go home to happier sleep and more pleasant dreams for it all and back to work in the morning with pleasing memories and anticipations. The moderate user loaths the sot and is indignant at the reformer who intimates that he is

in danger of becoming one. The more intelligent advocates of temperance have recognized the social function of convivial drinking and have tried long, if not very wisely and successfully, to provide a psychic substitute, not only for beverages that cheer and can inebriate but also for the saloon itself. It is much that the need of such a vicariate has been recognized.

Now, suddenly and with none of these palliatives or ameliorations, the saloons throughout the country are closed, the currents of habit dammed, and one of the staple intakes of a large proportion of the world's workers is cut off by drastic and penal legislation. Upon whom does the chief burden of hardship fall? Not upon the manufacturers, for they are a small minority; not upon the bartenders who have been thrown out of business, although they are many and have much political and social influence; not upon habitual drunkards, for they, too, are a small minority; but chiefly upon those who indulge only in moderation. Some of these have welcomed the new law because it strengthened in them economic or hygienic impulses in the same direction which, without this external aid, were too feeble to act. The consciences of these have been reënforced. Crime and disorder due to inebriation have been everywhere decreased, it is true. But the great majority of moderate users feel that one of the inherent rights of man has been invaded and experience a goading sense of injustice. Perhaps they are better

off and will admit it later, but nevertheless the effect of this abrupt breaking of a fixed habit of the individual and of the race is bound to cause deep and widespread, if rather slow and to the psychological laity undetected, results.

Ask anyone who has tried to give up smoking (and this is a practice which the new lady voters and their followers, and the parsons and pedagogues which have sometimes been called a third sex and all their followers will next try to stop) how he felt, and he will reply that the hours dragged, that he was restless, uneasy, made changes in his daily habits, sought new interests or diversions, or worried along hoping that the uneasiness would abate or something would turn up; or possibly he sought a substitute. So, too, the moderate drinker seeks some other source of mild psychic inebriation as a surrogate for the experiences of the saloon and as a vent for his aimless, ill-defined cravings. He is perhaps all unconsciously discontented and his attitude is that of a seeker of something, though he knows not what. He is a trifle resentful, perhaps anxious and fearsome, before he finds a definite object or cause for these feelings. There is something lacking and his life seems a bit void. Formerly he was able to change his inner states at the bar, but now that this is impossible, the only relief is in seeking a change in his outer situation in order to reëstablish the lost equilibrium with his environment. This is, of course, essentially unconscious, and he has very little idea of what is taking

place within him. He knows nothing of the law of psycho-kinetic equivalents for they work as secretly and slowly as do irresistibly.

Now, all studies of fasting in men and animals, as we have said above, show that shrinkage of rations makes all creatures restless. Incipient starvation has played an important if not the chief rôle in all the great migrations of insects, fish, birds, higher mammals, and men. The westward sweep over southern Europe of Huns, Vandals, and other wild tribes from western and southern Asia is now known to have been caused by a physiological upset due to climatic changes attending the desiccation of a great internal sea that made waste and arid wide spaces that had once been fertile and capable of supporting large populations. When the food supply grows scanty, every living thing that has organs of locomotion mobilizes for a trek in quest of better food areas. If it is impossible to change the habitat, then the state of mind undergoes a change under the same principle of compensation. Not only do men, as Napoleon said, fight on their stomachs, but courage, perseverance, temperance, and even public sentiment and opinion depend largely on the normality of nutritive processes. We even hear much now of the herbivorous and carnivorous types of character in man, but a volume would hardly suffice to enumerate the basic facts that show how hunger is a coregent of love in the world.

If alcohol is the vicious thing physiologically it

is now commonly said to be, even the moderate drinker under prohibition must be regarded somewhat as a patient undergoing a more or less unwilling cure. His whole system in general, and his metabolic activities in particular, are in process of refunctioning if not of reconstruction. Especially his stomach, liver, kidneys, and brain, which school temperance books and cuts depict as so disorganized and morbid, must undergo a considerable change in order to become normal, and so we must expect our patients to be irritable, and make all due allowances and provision for this. It is thus characteristic of this state of mind that if it cannot find outlet, it is prone to make an object for this smothered resentment. If thwarted in one direction, man seeks vent for his feelings in another. Thus it comes that if the temperancelers are too strongly entrenched to be overcome, the former would-be drinker turns against capital, employers, and the industrial system, or at least is more ready to listen to the advocates of radical views.

Deprived of the conviviality of the saloon he finds a proxy for it in strike meetings, where common cause brings him very close to his fellow-men. When the bars are closed his recourse is the streets, and if there is a mob or riot he finds in these a source of excitement which he once found in the bottle or the glass. Instead of a few boon companions he seeks vent for his social instincts in the crowd, and the discontent of his alimentary tract is projected outward

upon his general social and industrial environment.

Teetotalism has its place, and a very important one in the cure of chronic inebriates, and we all know the arguments and statistics of the temperance propaganda by heart; but of the other side we know far less. Most great reforms come slowly, but here actual prohibition has come almost like a shock and the whole autonomic system has to make readjustments as best it can. Thus a psychologist seeks to find the relation between the prohibition of Vodka and the Russian debacle and Bolshevism, as well as between industrial and social unrest; and in this country the epidemic of strikes, which S. C. Mason of the National Association of Manufacturers states has cost us ten million dollars a day for the last eight months, cannot be entirely disconnected from our sudden and enforced abstinence.

Men in process of cure of the drink habit are more particular about their food and more dependent upon both its quantity and quality. Better edibles have long been known to be a safeguard against this habit, and poor, badly-cooked, ill-adapted, or insufficient nutriment is one of the chief causes of the craving that may make the drunkard. Thus to set a table in any sense or degree which can make up for the tabooed bar, especially with the present soaring prices, is a graver problem than either wage-earner or housewife has yet learned to realize and which they are not competent to solve if they do see it. That subtle and of late much-discussed thing we call appetite, which at

its best impels all the processes of the lower and even the higher activities of digestion, is so metamorphic that we cannot trace all its transformations, one of which, some are now telling us, is hunger for intellectual pabulum. But we do know that both its normal and perverted forms are profound determinants of both character and conduct and that its satisfactions or thwartings on its different planes have very much to do with the place of both individuals and communities on the algedonic scale; and also that they are potent factors in activation or tranquillization.

The saloon, indeed, has always played a great social rôle, far more important than even psychological sociologists have yet realized. It was the poor man's club where he met his fellows, exchanged views and concepts, learned what was going on in his environment, and got into more vital touch with it. It was also a great political institution where the henchman met his followers and won their votes. For this social intercourse he now substitutes a trade-union meeting where his own individual interests are debated by those in his calling, and here he seeks and finds contact with narrow, more personal, and more common interests.

One reason for this is the deep human need for excitement. So urgent is this that if man cannot get it by drink, he will work up calentures about the items of his environment. Durkheim and his school think the great step upward in the early history of man

was taken in the fervor of collective feeling, thinking, and acting, as in the savage corroboree; and mild inebriation, whether by drink, ideas, or common sentiments, not only fuses individual souls into a larger whole but also and by many other means loosens higher superindividual, racial energies, and inspires each with the instinct of the herd. The deepest root and chief charm of alcohol is that its cult mobilizes the higher powers of men in its way and enables each to draw on the stored capital of the species. This, too, is its danger. A great many of the most signal achievements of man in his progress upward have been done in this exalted and inspired state when he seems to be helped by powers higher than his own. Religion itself owes much if not most of its influence to the fact that its cults placed at the disposal of the individual those powers which inebriation is the easiest and most vulgar way of getting at and using.

Human nature will not give up this ready way of access or appeal without an adequate substitute and should not be expected to do so. Hence the demand is now laid upon us as never before to find the sources of legitimate excitement which may occasionally arouse us to a higher pitch of abandon. To do this is now one of the imperative tasks of morale in the interest not only of education but of industrial, social, and civic life. Many if not most of the great questions of this reconstruction era have been more warmed and heated than they would otherwise have

been because this ready recourse to low-level stimulus has been removed.

Drunkenness is a terrible disease, and perhaps it needed a no less drastic cure than prohibition. But the patients have now convalesced from the disease itself and are like men who, having taken drugs that had checked the invasion of noxious germs, must now undergo a subsequent convalescence from the effects of the strong antidotes that must be eliminated from their systems. If they are cured of the disease, they are not yet cured of the medicine.

There was a time when men found needed excitement in religion, which sometimes lapsed to orgies and even debauches. Some of the most intense experiences of the race and the individual have been in this domain, but that is no longer the case. Wars, panics, great psychic epidemics, have swept over the world, and along with their devastations have also served as vents to compensate man for the long repressions that society and the *mores* always impose. In ancient Rome the circus, in Spain the bull-fight, in various Catholic countries the customs of Mardi Gras, the carnival of the Corso, hallowe'en, April Fool's Day, where liberty degenerates into license and everyone feels impelled to let himself go and for the time being breaks the monotony and routine of life, and now perhaps the mild excitement of the movies, prize-fights, and our great national games may serve something of this purpose. But the average modern toiler, especially in this country, knows

little or nothing of any of these and so turns to dissipation or drink, which in a sense must vicariate for all of them. Our problem thus is to see that as the world "goes dry," the human soul must not dessicate. Plato longed for a day when statesmen would become philosophers; and philosophers, statesmen. Now we are realizing that for many reasons and in many fields legislators ought to be psychologists. But, alas! we are about as far from realizing the classical as the modern ideal. The psychologists have a duty here in this reconstruction period which they have not yet accomplished.

CHAPTER XV

MORALE AND PROFITEERING

War always followed by a period of greed—Its camouflages—The cures of (a) publicity; (b) ridicule; (c) portrayals of the simple life; (d) morale and revolution—The need of studying as well as burning anarchistic literature.

War always upsets industry. Young men are called to the colors, and older men and women and boys and girls take their places. The vast supplies, stores, munitions, and ships that must be provided in as short a time as possible transform the machinery of production and distribution and cause general unsettlement. The government comes to the aid or assumes control of our great public service corporations. There is great centralization of power and perhaps arbitrary use of it, and lavish and often inconsiderate expenditure. Thus, along with and often as if in compensation for the glow of patriotic and self-abnegating enthusiasm, arises a spirit of greed and profiteering. Wages and prices seesaw upward, and the motive of public good gives place to that of private or personal profit. Even those who respond generously to the many war charities and other calls cannot resist the temptation to make excessive profits, opportunities for doing which are so many and alluring. Legislation against the high cost of living, the sale at cost of government stores, ex-

posure of wrong-doing, court procedures, and publicity can help a little; but so strong and fundamental is the lust to own and acquire, so well entrenched, able, and subtle are the defenses of even the most obnoxious trust methods of hoarding and manipulating the market, and so many are the members of our law-giving bodies who secretly hold retainers for the interests, and so powerful and sagacious are their lobbies that the best legislation can only slightly mitigate the evil, for the more reformatory the laws, the more difficult it is to execute them. "Why should and how could I refuse to accept high selling rates like my competitors? The purpose of business is to make all the money it can, whether from a government contract or customers, and to ask me to charge less than I can get is not only an interference with the liberty of trade but is a blow at my rights and those of economic society. How can I be asked to forego the advantages others are utilizing to the uttermost? Is it not rather my right and my duty to enter and stay in the battle of competition and enlarge my business and make it lucrative by every decent means?"

To meet this spirit by an appeal to the good of the community as a whole, or by preaching the religious duty of self-subordination, service, and sacrifice, or by portraying the evils of selfishness is insufficient. The profiteer often gives generously to his church, if he has one, and feels especially that if he has made honest returns of his property and income and paid all the taxes the government claims, he has

done his duty to his country. Perhaps he does more yet by way of charities and feels that he has bought and paid for protection and immunity. Moreover, he has laws or can have them made, or else can find able counsel to justify ways of legal evasion from those which would curb his excesses. In fact, neither charity, patriotism, nor good citizenship as he conceives them offers any formidable barrier to his lust for gain. Perhaps he is even considered generous to his employees and has won and is proud of their loyalty, and is thought honest, benevolent, and public-spirited in his community. But for all this the profiteer lacks the very basis of business morale.

What is this and how can it appeal to him? This is one of the hardest and most pressing problems of the whole reconstruction morale. To find an adequate answer would be to find a way of escape from one of the greatest dangers that threaten human society to-day. Perhaps there is no remedy and perhaps no safeguard can be found. Ancient states, especially Greece and Rome, perished because they could find no means of checking the disintegration of their social and political organizations by the lust of personal aggrandizement. They declined so far because public spirit died. Are we destined to share their fate? The torch of their civilization not only burned dimly but would have gone out completely, and the world would have been plunged into utter darkness but for the timely advent of Christianity. But can we hope for any new dispensation as regenerative

as that was to save us from a more complete fall?

Many corrective agencies besides the appeal to legislation and courts are already at work, others suggested, and still others are possible for both the trusts that squeeze competition and the profiteering that squeezes customers, as follows:—

1. Publicity, *e. g.,* in the Ida Tarbell exposure of the Standard Oil trust, can drag to light disreputable secret methods and agreements and thus do much to arouse public sentiment to condemnation of a concealment that hides unfairness, just as to make diplomacy open instead of secret makes for its reform. Just as the old church confessional held that to confess is the first step toward forsaking sin, and as the new psychanalytic cures rest on the principle that to get conscious of psychic defects tends to their removal, so the awakening of a community to a sense of the evils that prey upon it is the first step towards its regeneration. To be really therapeutic publicity must be pitiless. Nothing must be concealed and no one guilty must escape. The difficulties here are very grave; the greater the abuses, the more elaborate are the methods of protection and defense against exposure. In an age and land where eloquence was the focus of all educational endeavor Cicero taught that the chief function of the orator was to see that no great and good act, however private and modest, went without its meed of praise. He should have added that the orator ought to allow nothing harmful to the community to remain unknown and uncen-

sured. This should now be the function of the press, the pulpit, and the teacher in these fields. Among story- and playwrights the arts and devices of the detective of crime have of late given him an uncanny and almost supernatural sagacity. Detectives of industrial and commercial malpractice are now even more needed and will require yet greater powers of insight, endurance, and courage. We have had many government investigations and reports that exposed underhand methods in different lines of business, and advanced students in the department of economics in many of our universities have shed light on many practices in local lines of business. But we need and shall sometime have bureaus of trained experts who will, upon call, investigate the practices of corporations with regard to fairness of profit-making, as we already do of efficiency, and there will be concerns that will court and be advantaged by such publicity, for it would indeed be an advertisement for any good firm. It is a low state of morale in a community that will long submit to extortion, as Americans are too prone to do, without even a citizens' committee to attempt their amelioration. The effectiveness of the publicity-cure depends, first, on the tone and virility of public opinion, and secondly, upon the sensitiveness of offenders to its censure. There are those who fear only legal penalties and are unperturbed by social opprobium or even ostracism, and there is danger that the number of these defiant graspers is growing and that they are becoming bolder. For these

public condemnation has no terrors unless it costs them customers and patronage, and that it does so every community should have the morale to make sure. There are, on the other hand, concerns that have voluntarily submitted themselves to such examinations, although thus far this has been done in too sporadic and unorganized a way. Some, again, who at first used religion and ostentatious charity as a defense mechanism against the condemnation of the community and their own conscience, or as a cloak for their covert crimes against industrial society, have later grown more amenable to public criticism and not only complied with its dictates outwardly but have done so with inner conviction. Thus publicity has even brought true regeneration. Rarely as this has occurred, morale has sometimes triumphed over profiteering under the tonic stimulus of publicity.

2. Ridicule in the form of satire and caricature and irony can do something, as has often been shown in the field of political profiteering, *e. g.,* in the classic case of Nast and the corrupt Tweed ring in New York City years ago. France is most responsive to this method, for there a clever *bon mot* or cartoon has sometimes been an important factor in even the fall of a minister and cabinets. Here we find some *rapprochement* between morals and aesthetics, for satire to be effective must be fresh as well as apposite. To represent the genus profiteer as an octopus, vampire, hog, a masked holdup man, an enormously bloated human monster; to bestialize por-

traits of money magnates or to represent them behind bars or in striped prison attire; to caricature the extravagances and excesses of the worthless offspring or the general preposterousness of the newly rich—all these were once effective but have lost most of their force because they have become trite, and also because the victim himself has learned to laugh with the public. The real culprits, too, are usually directors whose meetings are behind closed doors and their proceedings secret, and while the great body of stockholders who simply cut coupons and pocket dividends are protected by anonymity, even executive heads act under the mandate of the "higher-ups," who are hard to find. The laugh of derision must be at somebody, and if no object can be found ridicule loses its point. Juvenal's castigations did little to check the degeneration of his day; Pope's "Dunciad" did alleviate the pest of poetasters, and "Don Quixote" gave the final *coup de grâce* to medieval chivalry; but for us there seems little prospect of help from these sources. The *auri sacra fames* is too strong and its excesses too tragic for wit or humor, and its armor blunts the shafts of satire. It invites invectives rather than any form of derision, and even this is likely now to be discredited as implying radical socialism or even Bolshevism. A modern Juvenal would be thought an advocate of the soviet, if not an anarchist.

3. Portrayals and illustrations of the simple life. Of these we have had many. Our institutions were planned when life was largely rural; intercourse,

trade, commerce, and manufacture, elemental; and plain living and high thinking an ideal that seemed well on the way to realization. From Plato's Republic down men have dreamed of model states, communities, and Utopias of many kinds, and there have also been many spasmodic attempts to set up and operate societies where the common good was the supreme goal of each. Some of the best novels of our generation, too, have portrayed idyllic pictures of social conditions where individual good and the motive of personal gain were subordinated to the general weal. Scholars have lived among the ignorant, rich men and women among the poor, to know and to help them. Academic sociologists and economists have often inculcated into their classes more or less rancor against great wealth and its methods, and stressed the abuses of capitalism until one would think some of them were almost ready to take the vow of poverty, in which eastern ascetics and medieval saints found veritable inspiration for service. Clergymen have felt and voiced the charm of the simple life. But wealth is phlegmatic and its conscience greasy and slippery, so that no painful friction is felt and there is no attrition of the lust for pelf. We all have schizophrenic or split souls. We have a warm side for these idealities, at least in a kind of Sunday mood, but on Monday, Mammon has us in his clutches and we lose the vision in the practicalities of weekdays. Of these two souls, which it is the peculiarity of modern man to have developed, one is weak and

its primacy is only occasional, while the other is strong and habitual and there is too often an impervious partition between them. Neither need encroach upon the domain of the other. The grasper even feels complacency that he can tolerate and perhaps even enjoy the portrayal of a line of bad practices of which he is himself not incapable and which are not utterly alien to the main determinants of his life. It is only when his ideals threaten actual and immediate harm to his own material interest that he condemns them. Thus we must conclude that all such principles and examples of high civic morale, while they are too valuable to be abandoned, can really do but little in such an unprecedented crisis as this through which we are now passing. Those who think we may arrive easily and imperceptibly at our economic and philanthropic millennia do not see that we may warm to them just because and in so far as we feel that they cannot be actualized, and our sympathy with them we feel to be a compensation for not realizing them. Sympathy here acts like an attenuated virus or a Platonic catharsis in insuring immunity. Thus we hear sermons, see plays, read romances, or sometimes communistic treatises, and even praise those who, if they controlled our conduct, would utterly subvert our present way of life. Such individuals are, of course, developing a secondary personality which may possibly some time become the dominant one. But this would occur only under great stress and such conversions are rare. They are

not, however, impossible, and we shall see later how this may sometimes occur and regenerate individuals and communities.

4. Morale and Revolution. This to many seems the only way outside of existing laws and courts. Some day the masses will arise in their might and sweep away capital, privilege, the upper classes, and the present economic, social, industrial, legal, and religious system, and usher in a new dispensation. To the chief modern paradigm of the French Revolution is now added the far more effective and contemporary achievements of Bolshevism and the forcible expropriation of wealth. This proletarian hope has never been so strong in the world before. Very many of those not in this movement have hitherto been profiteers in most that men strive for. We can hardly overestimate the force of this appeal in the world today or the enthusiasm and often the fanaticism of its devotees. Very few of the wealthy and the cultured know the force of this appeal. We shall never be entirely overwhelmed by this flood because we are a nation in which the middle class predominates, as distinct from Russia where the middle class was so small and impotent, but it is a movement of such psychological intensity that it will break us if we cannot bend and make rather radical readjustments. We have simply to make a better organized world. What are the dictates of high morale in this emergency?

First of all we must learn, and that sympathetical-

ly, how life looks to the poor and the ignorant; how the anarchist really thinks and feels and just what he wants and why; how the immigrants from many lands who have found their way to our shores differ in their temperament and views of life and its work; what these classes love and hope for, and what distempers infect their souls and what parasites prey on them; and we must multiply every agency of information, both of ourselves and of enlightenment on his part. In this intensified campaign of education of him and ourselves we must seek to give the men and women of the masses better leadership and set them better examples. From this point of view I believe that the censorship of our government has been mistaken. Both my academic friends and I have tried in every way to obtain and collect confiscated seditious literature, and the responses to our appeals have been often met as if we were propagandists instead of investigators trying to discover and help to heal a social disease. Those generally cheaply printed tracts, leaflets, journals, and pamphlets which we have been able to obtain are often seductive but are easy to answer, even to the lower level of intelligences to which they are addressed. But they get in their work, for the most part, unchecked, although many of them are utterly and radically un- and anti-American. The Americanization methods of our schools rarely reach those who read these sheets, and the secret propaganda of Bolshevik ideas is but little checked just where it is doing most

mischief. A true morale requires that all these seditious and revolutionary utterances be carefully collected and studied, as we study infectious germs or an epidemic in order to develop effective therapies and prophylaxes for them. If such a task were definitely assigned to our academic teachers of sociology and economics, it would be indeed a new and important step in safeguarding our very civilization, and perhaps what is more important, it would incidentally do much to restrain and correct certain radical tendencies in the same direction which now infect so many professors in these fields by showing them whither they are tending. If any of them should be thus converted, one back-fire to these aims would be set. This would have great significance for morale, and the very strength of dangerous opinions which require yet deeper studies to complete them would itself tend to secure us in the way of safety.

The Mormons have or had a method of sending out their more thoughtful, educated young men, especially if they were growing skeptical of the tenets of their church, as missionaries, and it was found that by thus holding a brief for their doctrines and defending and making active propaganda for them, they almost always succeeded in the end in at least answering their own doubts and converting themselves. If some of our younger sociologists who have radical leanings were set the task of making propaganda for such conservative views as they have left against the rising tide

of Bolshevism, by studying and answering its literature, the same change for the better might be secured.[1] There is only too much reason to fear that many of our academic teachers have grown at heart more radical than their friends or even they themselves suspect, but at least we must not forget that they have, on the other hand, done an incalculable service against profiteering, especially in the way of exposing corrupt practices. While our laws prescribe more or less effectively for the safety of public and private health by stamping out the germs of infectious diseases wherever they appear, our chief hope is in those laboratories which actively cultivate these morbific germs to find their antidote, and we need to do more to establish such therapeutic agencies for the yet more deadly germs of anarchism now so active in our midst.

While the press in this country is more or less effective and to some degree free from external control, it is nevertheless rapidly becoming more and more servile to its advertisers. A large part of the revenues of most of our journals comes from this source, so that they have long competed with each other in lowering the price of their sheets in order to extend their circulation, according to which the price of their advertising is rated. It is no secret that very many concerns find it expedient to lavish vast sums upon advertising which may or may not bring any great

[1] Paul Frederick Brissenden: *The I. W. W., A Study of American Syndicalism*. N. Y., Columbia U., 1919.

increase of customers but which is so effective in preventing editorial attack. The threat of withdrawing this patronage by any large class of advertisers is often only too effective, and it is sometimes even necessary to know the chief sources of this income before we know whether a paper will print or decline even an outside communication that effectively attacks them. If we could only have here and there a well endowed journal which would take no advertisements at all and was conducted solely in the interest of public morale, with its columns open to all who intelligently sought to advance it, much could be accomplished here.

As it is, the instincts that make for profiteering are almost inseparable from a commercial age, and if we analyze ourselves conscientiously and carefully, the best of us will probably find that we have not always lived up to the maxim of never accepting a dollar which does not represent a dollar's worth of real service.

CHAPTER XVI

MORALE AND FEMINISM

Why woman suffrage has done so little—Why its leaders are so averse to the recognition of sex differences in this age when individual differences are so studied—Incompleteness of women without children—The results of her inferiority of physical strength—List of sex differences—Ultimate goal of the woman movement—Secondary sex differences in psychanalysis—Problems to which woman should address herself—Marriage and divorce.

The English militant suffragettes had the saving common sense deliberately to suspend their campaign of sabotage when the war came and to spare the world the patheticism of their starvation and forced feeding in jails, and they have now won in Europe and this country their long fight for complete citizenship. Not only the polls but nearly every vocation and all the learned professions, educational opportunities everywhere, and even legislative bodies and many official positions are open to them. Woman now is doubtless on the way toward becoming a political power that everyone seeking an elective office from the presidency to a position on the school boards must reckon with. It would seem as if after all the reforms promised if women attained the right to vote, we should even have a woman's party with its own distinctive platform and program, but there is no one yet who seriously proposes this. Women have been a power in many great and good causes—prohi-

bition, child labor, education, sanitation, etc.—but they have done little to elevate the tone of local politics; while in the larger questions of national or even state politics their influence has been very little felt. Even the social evil they have done little to mitigate. Thus much as woman has accomplished and much as has been done for her, we find in many quarters a feeling that she is yet far from her goal, and there is even a query abroad as to whether she really knows what she truly wants. It is surely no longer, in the main, equality of opportunity with man, which has so long been her slogan.

She cannot bring herself to relinquish any of the old privileges of her sex while claiming so many new ones. Most of all, nearly all the leaders of her sex resent the one clear call of the present hour to go back to first principles and ask again what are the real intrinsic differences between man and woman. While recognizing in practical life, as she needs must, all the fundamental differences, she evades in nearly every possible way all attempts to bring these obvious differences into the foreground because still obsessed by the old fear that difference means inferiority, rather than implying, as all the best of them do, a distinct superiority. In many women's meetings I have attended the topic of diversities, if not taboo, is at least distasteful. Even at the International Conference of Women Physicians (New York, September to October, 1919) I was, I think, authoritatively told that the foreign delegates welcomed as the

American women disapproved this theme. When in 1873 Dr. Edward Clark called attention to the need of monthly easement from strain, a storm of protest arose, and in the flood of answers he was said to have "insulted every woman in the land," and the need which he so clearly showed is even yet very unsatisfactorily recognized.

Women leaders especially in this country have always minimized innate sex differences. Once they ignored or denied them, and now we are told that even most of the more obvious of them, such as muscular inferiority, have been acquired by woman's long subjection to man and will be obliterated in time by the new régime of parity. A very accomplished woman medical expert now tells us that type (in this case Jung's distinction between introverts and extroverts) is a distinction superior to that of sex and supersedes it, when in fact it is related to it only in the way in which color, adiposity, temperament, and every other characteristic point of difference between individuals is. In fact, this *horror differentiarum* belongs to a stage of the feministic movement which has done its work and should be laid aside, and in its place we should have a new and almost opposite ideal. To attain the new morale which the times now demand of her sex woman is called on to find and emphasize every possible real and certain sex difference and to push it to the uttermost. She should now stand squarely upon the facts of her sex and strive to become as truly feminine as man should

be virile. In place of the old goal, then, of equality and identity we should place a new ideal of differentiation. As Hyatt long ago showed, savage men and women are more alike in form, feature, industrial efficiency, including muscle, than under civilization, which always and everywhere involves progressive differentiation.

Another movement characteristic of our times emphasizes this demand. To-day we test and measure every kind of physical and mental capacity. The new individual psychology seeks with all its resources to find the *proprium* of each person and to put each at the job for which he is best fitted, no matter whether by inherited or acquired traits. We are finding under this method enormous economy, and that, too, in the most precious of all the factors of production, viz., the human element. We seek out the peculiarities of age, race, constitutional diathesis, temperament, type, etc., and strive to redefine and utilize them all in terms of happiness and efficiency. We even assume that there is something, if we can only find it, in which almost everyone can at least relatively excel, and are realizing that even great ability in the wrong place is doomed to failure. Vocational guidance and even health, sanity, and morality are involved in this work. Sex, one of the chief differences in the human race, should no longer claim exemption from this survey and refuse to profit by the incalculable advantages which its practical application would entail.

This is not the place, nor am I competent to enumerate, least of all in their true perspective, all the *differentiae,* but an attempt to tab off ever so roughly a few of the most obvious of them may suggest something of the new morale that its proper recognition will give to the new cause of woman in the world.

No normal woman is complete without bearing and rearing children. Her body and soul were meant for motherhood. Everything the world adores in her centers about this function. By far the largest part of the office of repopulating the world in successive generations rests mainly upon her. She is, on the whole, the best woman who produces and rears to maturity the most and the best children, and the same is of course true of the fathers, although in a far more indirect way. Everything whatever that interferes with this her supreme function is a loss to the human race. The problem of national, racial, and individual supremacy bottoms on that of fecundity plus the conservation of offspring. Those nations that excel here will rule the world in the future. Lecky thought the Dark Ages were due to the celibacy of those who were potentially the best parents, and if the best women now refuse for any cause this function, they are contributing in the same way to retard the progress of the country and the world. Who save the modern woman of the old régime, who fought the long and bitter war of sex against sex, ignores this, and who of the most insightful of us all yet recognizes all the practical implications of this most obvious of first

principles in this field. Even the exemption of women from labor during later pregnancy and early lactation has gone but a little way.

Although men and women have each all the essential traits of the other, the "fashion-plate," "Gibson girl" is no less a monstrosity than the feminized male, and everything that tends to reapproximation is not in the interests of true progress as seen in the larger light of biology. Hence the ideal of those feminists who claim everything that man has, would do everything that he does, in his way, and because he does it, must be radically modified. Woman's nature and needs must be reformulated, and she must recognize that many of those very qualities which she has hitherto kept in abeyance and suppressed, because they differentiated her from man, should be activated. Only by doing this in the industrial, social, domestic, intellectual, and even marital relations can she justify all the great new opportunities which are now opening to her throughout the world. The problem of "What next?" for her, therefore, requires a new and more advanced program for the future, since much as she has won of late, these achievements are only prolegomena and she is still far from her ultimate goal. All that she has accomplished represents only the preparatory stages of the struggle to attain what she really wants.

There is already a vast mass of data,—experimental, historical, sociological, economic, anthropological, and biological,—and such a maze of opinions and an

all-pervasive bias, conscious and unconscious, even among experts, that the attempt to find a consensus as to real sex differences and tab off its items may seem, curiously enough, at the same time both overbold and commonplace.

Woman certainly has less physical strength than man. The war has shown this for she has not fought in the trenches. Botchkareva[1] was herself a prodigy of valor and endurance but her "Battalion of Death" was depleted to one-fourth, not by battle but by the inherent unfitnesses of her sex for warfare, which is the field *par excellence* for Adler's "manly protest." She faces death in most of its forms more heroically than man but not mutilation. Physical training improves her no less, but her ideal is not that of a Hercules. The very fact that she is inferior in muscular power has made her turn to subtlety, persuasion, and moral force for attaining her ends, which are more spiritual. As by her tact, insight, and altruistic devotion to offspring she tamed and domesticated savage man, so now by these same qualities, more enlightened, resourceful, and concerted, she faces the greater task of purging modern society of its gross selfishness, for this is the root of all our evils—political, industrial, social and moral. Perhaps nowhere are virile qualities more stimulated than in warfare; nowhere do men get so close together as in the camp and trench. Despite woman's disapproval of war it is just these qualities that are

[1] Maria Botchkareva: *Yashka, My Life as Peasant, Officer and Exile*, N. Y., Stokes, 1919.

most attractive to her. She not only abhors the slacker (and whoever heard of a hero of romance who was not athletic!) but instinctively encourages war by her worship of the uniform because it is a symbol of man's power to protect defenseless motherhood and childhood. In this way she more or less offsets her work for peace. Nothing is thus more obvious than the fact that in all those forms of physical labor that involve the larger fundamental muscles—digging, most of the activities of farming, lumbering, road-making, transportation by sea and land, building, fisheries,—and the severer forms of athletics, she cannot compete with man, and because of her functions in transmitting life, the industries she enters should require less uniformity, to which her nature submits with more danger.

A volume would not suffice to describe the differences of the sexes at every stage and in every condition of life. There is little clear difference in the acuity of the senses, reaction and association time, memory, or class rank in all academic grades (in which, indeed, she is often superior to the male, so that she has abundantly justified her right to the higher education everywhere). She distinctly excels man in color perception and appreciation. The whole world of flowers and even plant forms have a message for her that man knows not of. They are often given half-human characteristics and perhaps embody distinct moral qualities. Woman is better oriented in her immediate environment, and less likely to be in-

formed about things that are afar in time and space and do not immediately concern her. She also presentifies more and better than man, that is, sees everything in terms of the here and now. She understands other women better than man understands other men, and judges and measures man by different standards from those which he applies to his fellowmen. She is vastly more altruistic. Her love is more absorbing and its loss less consolable. Her religious instincts are far stronger. Her moods are more variable and periodically conditioned. Her emotional nature is richer, deeper, stronger, and it is in this domain now just beginning to reveal its secrets to psychology that the mainsprings of life, health, success, and failure are found. While we know much of the adolescent boy, the adolescent girl is still one of the great mysteries. She matures earlier and passes her prime sooner, but seems on the whole to live a little longer. She needs more time for both her toilet and regimen. As a girl she plays different games; prefers different pets; submits best to school discipline and authority; has less power to organize; is more plastic and adaptable and less often punished in school; is far more conscientious about tasks and "flunks" less; has a larger vocabulary in early life; prefers and excels in language, literature, and the humanities rather than in the more exact physical sciences, while in biology and chemistry she is more drawn to applications to life rather than to pure science; she prefers the concrete to the abstract and is

more interested in persons than in ideas. Women graduates marry by much less percentage than male graduates. She knows and teaches young children far better than man does. She suffers vastly more during both pubertal and adolescent years from repressions, is held in check by far more conventional and social taboos of both conduct and expression, and is more a slave to fashion. She is more liable to certain and less so to other diseases, in many of which there are complications peculiar to her sex. She endures most surgical operations better than man and dreads them less. Her sex has furnished the great majority of the complex and interesting cases upon which psychanalysis is based, and this because of her more exuberant, emotional, and imaginative life. She has gathered most of the original data of paidology, although man has done most in the way of writing it up and systematizing it. At all ages she meets death with more resignation and suffers less from fear of it. If she commits suicide, it is by different methods and for different causes. Woman's offenses against the criminal law, too, differ radically from those of man. The same is true of her social activities. Marriage involves far more change in her inner and outer life than it does for man, and is far more fateful either for weal or woe. Like man she is sexed in very different degress, the excess in her tending to masochism as in him it does to sadism. Her self-consciousness takes a very different form. She is more intuitive and man is more logical. Her sex instincts are more

rhythmic, less fulminating, with far wider psychic irradiations, and she also has far more power of both sublimation and repression.

Now, even these differences are inadequately recognized. Their implications are manifold, and the practical application of them would involve social, industrial, and educational readjustments of a far-reaching nature, which if made would greatly enhance the efficiency of our civilization. If woman would now reinterpret herself and her environment more or less according to her nature and needs, she could realize many possibilities now open which have never been within reach before, the doors of which will soon be closed if they are not entered now.

The ultimate goal of the whole feminist movement is more independence, initiative, and control by woman over her reproductive and domestic life. Assuming that everything is right or wrong that is so biologically and sociologically (which, by the way, is one of the most pregnant postulates of our times in its new quest for first principles), we may say that it is both the right and duty of every woman to mate and bear and rear children, to do this without stigma, and to be sheltered and protected while doing it. Always, and especially more when the world needs repopulation, to refuse this function, if it can be performed under tolerably normal conditions, is not only recreancy but is akin to desertion. Moreover, it is a dwarfing and a perversion of Nature's intent. This, too, is the call of patriotism and religion. Selfishness, fas-

tidiousness, or timidity are no more excuses than they are for slackerdom in war, and to face these obstacles is woman's perpetual call to heroism.

Highly cultured mothers often hesitate long before enlisting in this war against the race suicide of the best. If they venture upon motherhood, it is but for once or perhaps with the motto *Uno sed leo*, with the excuse that their culture enables them to develop their offspring so much more than the common mother can do, that what is lacking in its number can be made up by its quality. It is the sons and daughters of such who are liable to be handicapped later by an aggravated mother-complex, from which more neglect, wise or even unwise, would have saved them. Nurture can never compensate for that most ancient and precious of all worths, heredity. The only child, especially of such over-careful parentage, special studies show to be peculiar and almost always a little warped and spoiled by overattention.[2]

Here, too, we face the problem of birth control and contraceptive methods, diffusion of the knowledge of which so many eminent men, led perhaps by the committee of one hundred prominent American women, have of late actively espoused, although to diffuse these methods is still a crime in the statute books of many of our states. It is of course pathetic that so many wives now bear children when they are unfit or more than they can endow with health or de-

[2] E. W. Bohannon: *A Study of Peculiar and Exceptional Children*, IV, 3 Ped. Sem., Oct., 1896; and *The Only Child in a Family*, V. 475, Ibid, April, 1898.

cently provide for. While preventions of some usually traditional kind are known and used everywhere, even among savage tribes, there is a large section of society, generally the lowest and most prolific, that knows them not, at least practically. These methods of course offer a safeguard against the results of illegitimate intercourse and may thus tend to increase it. Surely physicians should have the right to prescribe them, but there is great reason to doubt whether the universal diffusion of this knowledge would be in the interests of true human stirpiculture. We are very far from being able yet to breed men as we breed cattle. To achieve this end we must perhaps sometime use contraception, but it is doubtful whether we are yet near enough to the goal to make any general propaganda of this mode of bettering humanity either safe or wise. But this, again, is on the whole more a woman's problem than it is a man's.

But we must go deeper yet to find the taproot of the intersex problem. Some two-thirds of Darwin's epoch-making "The Descent of Man" are devoted to secondary sexual characters and traits. By this he means sex differences other than those of the sex organs and their functions, which are primary. In chapters crowded with facts he traces secondary sex differences in insects, fishes, lower and higher vertebrates, including birds, and finally man. There are differences in form sometimes amounting to dimorphism; there are also differences in color, stridulation, voice, hair, strength, all the organs of conflict,

and a host of others. In a sense, too, flowers and the many devices of plants for securing cross fertilization belong here. There are also differences in behavior, showing off, ornamentation for allurement, etc. Proof that all these structures and functions are connected with sex is shown not only by the rôle they play in the life of the various species but by the fact that they develop at sex maturity and decline with senescence.

As we go up the scale, the male seems to win more by using these secondary qualities, even pugnacity, as a method of charming rather than forcing the female, and even if he has a mate for the season he must win her anew at every approach for there is no marriage among animals in the sense that there is but one courtship and once winning is followed by subjection ever after.

Now modern psychanalysis has greatly extended our knowledge of these secondary sex qualities in the human species and shown them to be a far larger factor in life than we had supposed. It shows us that many of the highest human qualities—moral, religious, aesthetic, social—in short that happiness, health, and success in life generally are dependent to a degree we never dreamed of upon the normality of the *vita sexualis*. It has also shown us that the sex instinct is the most plastic, educable, polymorphic, and transformable of all things in human nature, that its regimen conditions far more than we had dreamed of in human life, and that its perversions are the

worst and its sublimations and spiritualizations the best things in man's world. As Darwin shocked the conservatives of his time by showing the great rôle that secondary traits have played in all the stages of animal evolution, so the psychanalysts of to-day are showing the pervasiveness and dominance of secondary psychic sex qualities in hygiene, art, religion, literature, the formation of character, the determination of sanity and insanity, and in the production of genius, so that to many sex in its larger sense now seems the chief source of human energy and efficiency. These studies, along with the hardly less important researches of the so-called Pawlow school on the conditional reflex, have now given a tremendous reënforcement to the old saw that love and hunger rule the world. They are also showing that from a biological point of view man is sexually aberrant in that in him alone mating has become an end in itself and is vastly in excess of the needs of procreation. This was the mystic fall of man. It was caused or exaggerated by three very important facts: (1) the development of the hand and its possible misuse; (2) the erect position, which made impregnation less certain; and (3) the use of clothing and fire, which made an instinct that had been seasonal active throughout the year.

But the new dispensation of love seeks redemption and would turn this curse into a blessing. To this very excess of sex energy, because it is so metamorphic, man owes much of his higher development and

many of his greatest achievements, and our problem now is to advance this process more consciously since we are coming to understand it so much better. It is most significant and fortunate that this new insight coincides with the great advance in the influence of woman in the world.

Now, the chief factor in the long-circuiting sublimation or irradiation of the sex impulse, not only into Darwin's secondary sex qualities but also into the higher cultural field, has been the hesitation or reluctance of the female. If she had wooed and made the advances, or even been won too easily, the sex impulse would have been short-circuited and the higher qualities would never have been developed. In the larger sense courtship is not merely the formal, conventional process society in different ages and climes prescribes, but it consists in making oneself as fit as possible to pass successfully the incessant examination to which the nubile female is always subjecting every nubile man in her environment. To fill and satisfy thus woman's ideal is the acme of morale in this field. Thus in a sense Miss Gamble is right in saying that woman has made man by giving him his best qualities by her coyness and resistance. A humble missionary's son in an obscure corner of the British colonial possessions fell in love with the daughter of the governor of the province, who did not reciprocate his advances. He resolved to make himself worthy, and so went home, studied, worked, and rose until he finally was himself appointed governor

—all to win the girl who made him, which he did. It would be impossible to enumerate all the great deeds, noble qualities, monumental works in every field of art and literature which men have achieved under the inspiration of women, and this is the larger psychogenetic function of courtship. Some girls even develop ideal lovers (for a salient illustration of which see the romantic and anonymous story "Whispering Dust"), and may be so fortunate as to find their ideal embodied in some man. If not, they have to make compromises with their ideal which are sometimes tragic unless the man of their choice can develop toward the realization of their dreams. Something of this sort all wooing seeks more or less to achieve, and to stimulate it is one of the chief prerogatives of woman. The girl who goes in to win at any price and allows liberties in her competition is thus recreant to one of the chief functions of her sex, and the wife who favors or permits marital approaches without a preliminary flushing up of these higher secondary sex qualities in her mate lowers the standards which it is the prime function of her sex to keep high. Not only this, but the preliminary activation of these higher powers must in some way we do not yet fully understand mobilize more of the pangens, ids, determinants, or other vital units essential for giving the offspring the full benefit of the higher heredity. Surely those conceived in this way must be better endowed by Nature than those conceived in sudden, brutish passion.

What we need to-day, then, is to know more about the higher equivalents of sex, just as we are seeking substitutes for war and drink, and it is fortunate for the world that we are just now finding more of these psycho-kinetic surrogates, proxies, and vicariates for it. It was out of superfluous reproductive energy that Nature evolved all the Darwinian secondary sex qualities, and now we must find and utilize the irradiations of this basal instinct that are necessary for the next upward step of human culture.

The dangers as well as the possibilities here are many and great, because the arousal of the proxy function may stimulate instead of vent or vicariate for the primary. While we do understand much of the uses of physical culture here, it is much less realized that almost any and every kind of affectivity, using this term in the broadest sense to include the feelings, sentiments, emotions, and even moods and passions, have this function. These higher traits and functions of mind and body are all erethic and excitable. Youth particularly needs spells of excitation. It must tingle, glow, increase blood pressure, and to do this in a way and in directions that develop the higher powers of man helps on their transmissibility. Wherever, for instance, in school, monotony, routine, and lifeless methods prevail, we are laying the basis for a low-level erogenous excitement, because if legitimate interests are not aroused, the young are prone to seek excitement in forbidden ways. In industry, too, mechanical, uniform, and uninterest-

ing processes fail to provide for this need, which if left to itself so strongly tends to lapse to evil ways. We are happily now learning that more and more of our real life consists of affectivities, and wherever we can substitute interest and zest of any kind or of any degree for dull, mechanical processes, we are setting a back-fire to these temptations. Thus sports, games, interest in machines, art, social activities, and anything into which the young can throw themselves with abandon serve not only as moral preventatives and prophylatics, but they also make these very qualities more accessible to heredity. Thus the more monotony in physical or educational work, the greater the need of arousing and absorbing recreations.

Involved in all this is the general principle that it is possible for the individual to draw upon the accumulated energies of the race that slumber in him, and here there opens before us a new problem in the education of the future, not only in the sense of schooling but for the regimentation of social and individual life. Many if not most of the great steps upward that man has taken in the course of his civilization—the great books, works of art, architecture, reforms, inventions and discoveries, victories in war—have been made by those who were more or less in a state of super-excitement, when they were really exercising the higher powers of man, which can only be done by calling upon the vast stores of racial energy laid up in us all, and without the adequate expression of which most live out all their lives. It adds something

to know, as we now do, the glands which must be aroused to exceptional activity as a physiological condition of this state, so that some now speak of the "adrenalin type" of man and of work. In the army we found those who having marched, fought, gone without sleep or food until they seemed to be "all in," rather suddenly found themselves reënforced by a power not themselves, so that they made a great rally and performed what seemed not only to others but to themselves prodigies of valor and effort,—these men often being those who in their lives before had given least indications of such reserves. Part of the education of the future, therefore, must be to teach each man a ready way of drawing upon these reserve powers to meet emergencies. This abandon to super-individual energy not only has power to abate but it may even go far toward suppression of the sex impulse, as celibates, anchorets, hermits, and saints have shown us. Indeed it is possible to overdraw our account at this great bank of heredity, so that, to use Spencer's phrase, individuation subordinates the powers of genesis. It is not mystics alone but also great geniuses and even great warriors who have thus given to mankind energies that were meant for posterity. Exercise in thus mobilizing the higher powers of man is necessary for the most effective hereditary transmission, and is a kind of rehearsal in exaggerated and specialized form of the arousals which should always precede the act of transmission itself. A word of caution, however, is necessary here. It is possible for

man, and still more so for woman, to overdraw his or her vital genetic energies in these ways of diversion. Especially is this true for refined, cultivated, and conscientious girls.

The problem of finding and using these higher substitutes is essential for the progress of civilization. Aristotle first glimpsed it in his doctrine of catharsis, and homeopathy later applied it to medicine with the maxim *similia similibus curantur,* and since Jenner discovered vaccination and especially since Pasteur, it has opened to us the great field of immunity by an attenuated virus. As pain and rage were vented homeopathically by seeing these passions represented on the stage in tragedy, and the spectator was afterward for a time safeguarded against yielding to them in the shock and strain of real life; as chicken-pox gives immunity from small-pox; so psychology is now seeking a prophylactic against not only war and drink but venery by finding more harmless vents for these instincts. Ultra-pacifism cannot eliminate the fighting instinct; prohibition and teetotalism cannot destroy man's proclivity for inebriation; and celibacy cannot eradicate the sex instinct. All these propensities are too deeply rooted in human nature ever to be eliminated. Hence, these negative methods are so crude and drastic, that we must seek higher and better methods in which the substitute will not prove a provocative. Religion, which is one of the world's chief agents for sublimating sex, has always tended more or less not only in ancient orgies but also in

the history of great revivals to lapse into grossness.

Dancing properly conditioned is one of the very best and most morally hygienic of all amusements, but uncontrolled it is full of jeopardy for body and soul. We must not, then, taboo but rather safeguard it. Once it was the highest expression of the religious instinct. Such is its charm that the young must and will dance, and while it may lapse to pure viciousness, it is capable of sublimation that would make it a valuable accessory in every church parlor. The same might be said of the movies, of boxing bouts, pool, billiards, etc., especially in these days when labor is more exposed to all the dangers of *ennui* and monotony and fuller of unrest than ever before. Since the excitements of the war have died down, and especially since the laborer has lost his tipple, he seeks compensation not in the circuses, as in ancient Rome, but in crude and crass recreations and in strikes, where the war spirit and fever will not die out, so that the danger of lapsing to low-level pleasures was never so great.

The ultimate quest of woman, then, is for the final decision in all matters connected with her reproductive function. This the female has in nearly every known species of animal and in the best primitive races of the past and the ascendant savages of to-day. The loss or abdication of this most precious of all woman's rights is the root of nearly all she now suffers from. What she should do to-day is to reassert and magnify her function of sexual selection. This

does not necessarily involve any more initiative in the old leap-year custom. Science has shown us that woman's love conforms best to the great biologic and psychologic law of complementation and this fits her best to select the other parent for her children. Her love, too, is more conformable than man's more sudden passion to the interests of posterity, and is thus more eugenic and less selfish. Here the leaders of her sex should exercise the greatest sagacity and also boldness, for they stand before a long-closed door which is just now open but will soon close again unless she enters it while she can.

Here we face the most difficult and delicate of all problems, that of the marriage bed, itself a source of so much supreme weal and woe in life. Mrs. Stopes in her "Married Love" has spoken the boldest, truest, and sanest word so far accessible in print which all, not only the newly-wed but those about to wed and perhaps especially husbands, should read and ponder. Every approach should be a new courtship in the sense above suggested, both alike consenting in the end. This is woman's way, of which most husbands know little and into which they should be initiated. Thus and only thus can the human male be given immunity from his polygamous instincts, by realizing on how low a level his habitual satisfaction has been sought and how vastly higher and larger a gratification that is really sacramental can be. The wife who sinks to be the mere instrument of her husband's self-abuse abandons the highest prerogative

of her sex and predisposes him sooner or later to seek novelty elsewhere. All that constitutes home and all the concourse of domestic life, the charm of wives who can restrain and then wisely bring their spouse to a consummation that so compensates for infrequency, is nearing the great goal and is giving wedded life its larger orbit. How the world needs again the wisdom of matrons, the counsel of Plato's wise senescent women, the need of which has long been felt but sometimes ignorantly branded as weird and even witchlike! There is a greater joy in married life than most at least of our sex have ever dreamed of. We have been content to live on a lower plane, and if there is anything that the new psychanalysis reveals more plainly than anything else, it is that so many of the catastrophes, hygienic, moral, industrial, and even financial that befall men and women, are due to perversions and distortions of this function. When a true morale has done its work here, the ultimate goal of feminism, which is nothing less than redemption from the mystic fall of man, will be attained, the effectiveness of heredity progressively advanced, and the way will be open to the solution of the many subsidiary questions.

The rapidly and ominously growing problem of the unwed mother, which some of the noblest women of continental Europe have so boldly grappled with, leaders here have been afraid of. Shall she be nursed through the ordeal privately in some institution for that purpose, abandon her offspring in a home for

foundlings, from which they would later be placed and supervised in some of the million childless homes of this country, and then return to the world sore in heart but seemingly as if nothing had happened? This practice is more Catholic than Protestant and there is much to be said for it. Some urge that the men about to marry such a woman later should know; others, that he should not. Under both theories such "physiological widows" have afterwards made as happy marriages as have those whom death rather than betrayal has bereft. How false to life is the sentiment still often fostered by romance that woman can truly love but once or that those thus victimized have necessarily really and permanently lost their virtue!

As to divorce, in this country there are far more divorce courts than in all the rest of the world. The ratio of divorces to marriages has steadily increased, until now from one-eighth to one-tenth of all marriages end in divorce, women securing them about twice as often as men. S. B. Kitchin (in his "A History of Divorce") tells us that the spirit of English divorce laws is still that of the age of the Inquisition when they were made, and Catholics still forbid it. In this country each state has its own divorce laws, and there is as great diversity as to causes and procedure among the different states as there is in the age of consent, the punishments for bastardy, methods of dealing with prostitution and venereal disease, obscene literature, the interpretation and enforcement of the Mann law, etc. If both parties really want it

and can agree upon its terms, why should not that suffice, and why should there be any social censure, still less scandal or public procedure? If there are no children and no property, permanent separation by mutual consent should be simple and easy, and even if the custody of children and the property adjustments are arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, why should court proceedings be necessary for the dissolution of the marriage tie? With some safeguards against intimidation or coercion what more is needed? In fact the sacramental idea of marriage has almost everywhere given place to the contractual view, and the Church has sanctioned many a union of those whom God never joined. The Church makes no investigation of any kind of fitness for marriage, not even medical, but performs its function upon all mature persons who present themselves, and why should not the same kind of mutual agreement also sanction the way out by the same token, without too prying scrutiny into reasons? Courts have their place only when there is divergence of view and wish concerning annulment or its conditions, but even here simplification is greatly needed.

Again, not only do current methods and prejudices keep many really alienated couples outwardly together because of the excruciating publicity involved in legal proceedings for separation, and not only does the dread often make one or both parties condone obvious infidelity in the other, but it sometimes presents to the community the ghastly spectacle of a wedded

pair living together and keeping up the pretenses before others of marital devotion when love has fled or perhaps gone over to its ambivalent opposite, mutual repulsion and even aversion. War, too, always increases infidelity and also divorces. Conceding nothing to any such wild vagaries as trial marriages, is it not plain that if divorce is made easy and respectable, it would not only tend to keep each contracting party on his good behavior but would also bring to each the constant realization that the other is not so indissolubly bound that neglect or alienation of affection would not naturally involve permanent separation? The god of Love puts some who have voluntarily joined themselves asunder, and why should man interfere with the execution of this divine will? Is not this whole subject now so beset with difficulties, inconsistencies, insincerities, and contradictions between theory and practice that both our ideas and sentiments need radical revision? Is not this subject, too, from its very nature one which woman should now squarely put up to herself? She is generally most concerned, and she ought now to do far more toward solving the problem than she has in the past. Would not her refusal to do so be craven flight from the new reality which faces her, a kind of desertion or slackerdom? Neither conscience nor the sense of honor, hitherto the chief tribunals of human conduct, has so far found a way out, and so we must make an appeal to the new and higher tribunal of morale, the establishment of which we owe to the war.

CHAPTER XVII

MORALE AND EDUCATION

War activities in schools including pre-military training—A paido- versus a scholio-centric system—The trend from culture to *Kultur* and how to check it—The rehumanization of the classics—The humanistic side of science—Modifications needed in history and sociology—Education and psychology living in a pre-evolutionary age—Religious, medical, and legal training—Faculty and school-board reforms.

While we can hardly accuse our educational system as a whole of having a low morale, there is no factor of our "new European" civilization that would profit more by a higher tone of its morale than our entire system from the kindergarten to the university and the academy of sciences. The war caused great changes in nearly every school topic and grade, and we had campaigns, liberty loan, thrift and other drives galore. For food production fit boys were released for farm work, even terms were shortened, and twelve million children attempted to make home gardens. There were competitions, prizes, canning clubs, junior Red Cross work, school savings banks, collections for French orphans, correspondence with Belgian children and those of our allies; the enforcement of attendance laws was relaxed that children might earn or take the place of their drafted elders; there was much teaching of patriotism, many new laws, pre-military and even military training, and

standards suffered. In his comprehensive survey P. Ling[1] tells us that of all the school subjects the teaching of history was most modified in both content and method. Next came geography, then civics, then English composition and reading; in fact there was hardly any topic in the curriculum that was not more or less modified.

In those city systems that went the limit a very large part of the entire time and energy of the pupils was consumed by these new activities. In the field of science in high school, college, and university more stress was laid upon practical applications, and many teachers and professors were either called away or else assigned definite war problems. The departments most affected in this way were chemistry, physics, economics, and psychology, nearly two hundred teachers of the latter being employed in testing soldiers, in personnel and other work, some of whom will probably never return to pure science and many never to teaching. Some half a million in all of those who were seeking the higher education became soldiers, while a division of the Student Army Training Corps was established in practically every college and university.

Unlike the French and especially the Germans, the prospects of the war had had very slight influence in this domain until the war was actually upon us, and its emergencies had to be met by extemporized meth-

[1] *Public Schools and the War*, 159, Clark University dissertation, 1919.

ods. Since the sudden close of the conflict there has been, on the one hand, a strong conservative trend to settle back everywhere to the old ways, while on the other hand many reformers, more or less radical, have seen their opportunity and have urged reform upon us. The breaking up of old routine here as everywhere brings the "psychological moment" with its endless possibilities of improvement. Chief among the changes needed, urged, or probable—at any rate possible—and necessary for higher morale here are the following, beginning at the bottom of the system:

1. The kindergarten and lower grades must be more paido- and less scholio-centric. The nature and needs of the child, mental and physical, should determine everything. To that end we must know more of children, with whom this country with its million childless homes has lost touch more than any other in the world in the present or the past, although promising advances in this direction were well under way when the war came. This is true humanism here. The literature of paidology, however, which is now very copious, has nowhere yet found adequate application or even unified literary presentation for the normal[1] as it has for the abnormal child.[2]

We have partially recognized the instinct of play but less so the necessity of purely mechanical drill more or less during the quadrennium from eight to twelve, habituation, memory, and discipline having

[1] See, however, Maria Montessori's *Pedagogical Anthropology*, N. Y., 1918.

[2] Henry H. Goddard: *Psychology of the Normal and Subnormal*, N. Y., Dodd, Mead, 1919.

then their nascent period. We have not, however, save in the Junior High School or in the "Six-Three-Three" system recognized the important changes that make puberty so epochful, and some of our would-be pedagogical leaders have even failed to recognize the fact that interest is to education what the Holy Spirit was to the ancient church, and that all structures built on any other foundation, save those that must be mechanized like reading, writing, numbers, etc., are too loose and unsubstantial to bear the strain of the traffic of life. The body and soul of the growing child are the most precious and also the most plastic things in the world, and all ultimate values are measured by the one criterion of how much they contribute to bringing the rising generation to an ever fuller maturity. The value of elementary education is not so much what it inculcates as the strength and many-sidedness of the interests developed in the child when the period of compulsory education ends.

2. The war has done more to develop technology than pure science, and has tended in many minds to invert the order formerly insisted on, which was pure science first and then its applications, so that many now believe that our curriculum should pay far more attention in the early stages of every science to its application, reserving its purer forms and the ideals of invention, discovery, research, and creative scholarship to those *élite* minds that reach the most advanced stages of scholastic development. The danger of *Kultur* at the expense of or in place of cul-

ture has stimulated conservatives to insist upon reversion to the old studies, but has found perhaps even more effective expression in the new sense that all kinds of applications of human knowledge to the conquest and subordination of nature to man's control have in themselves possibilities of true culture that have not yet been adequately evoked. One of the most certain and universal results of the war, as already expresed in nearly all the allied countries, has been to prolong by two, three, or even four years the period of attendance by continuation courses, and there is a new desire for vocational efficiency and a new appreciation of its value, as seen in the increased number of evening classes and perhaps yet more clearly in the very significant corporation schools. When we add to this the strong tendency to study each individual and to assign him to just that place in a big industrial establishment where he can be of most value to himself and the firm, we can realize to some extent the magnitude of the problems now opening to the higher pedagogy. The efficiency system, accounting, and the development of experts who examine, test, and report upon not only city and state school systems but industrial establishments and methods, have opened still another vista which suggests that all the processes of production will be analyzed and many of them made far more economic of human effort. Man now commands so many of the tremendous forces of nature that the demand made not only upon his energies but upon his morality to

see that these are utilized for good and not for harm or destruction is far greater than ever before. Nearly all the seventeen thousand trades in the census have educational possibilities, very few of which are yet developed and still less curricularized.

3. On the other hand, the spirit of loyalty, devotion, and heroism, the teamwork and subordination, the close comradeship and soldierly spirit of the battle-line developed in the army itself must not be lost, because these when transferred to civic, economic, and social life constitute the very choicest elements of morale in peace. This chivalric spirit and sentiment of honor, which is the very best product of military life, should be made to pervade the community, and if it could only once be brought to leaven industry, it would do more than anything else to purge away its evils and insure us against its dangers.

More specifically, the educational morale suggested by the war should work in some of the following directions:—

(a) Classics should be humanized. We may well grant all the culture claims of the ultra-Latinists for this subject provided they can so modify their methods as to bring their students into living contact with the best things in ancient Roman life and letters, and put substance, meaning, and spirit ahead of philology and grammatical drill. Their classrooms need more pictorial illustrations and models, and such concrete contact with the lives of those who spoke a language now dead as is illustrated in the Latin Mu-

seum brought by and bought from Germany at the St. Louis Exposition. There should be far more use of English translations, more focalization upon subject matter, meaning, spirit, or story roots than upon arid verbiage. True, we do not need Latin in the sense that the French do, whose very tongue is a derivative of that language; nor as the Germans do, as it so remarkably complements and supplements their own. The truly humanistic should thus be placed even ahead of the disciplinary values so often overstressed. In this way the spirit of the classical age might really be caught, and in place of the wretched and smattering results of a two or four years' course in these subjects we might secure some of the cultural effects so commonly claimed. In this way we should advance true paidism and extend real democracy even to our school children, not omitting *Dressur* and the spirit of obedience and discipline, which is another of the war lessons.

So in English and foreign modern tongues literature must take precedence over language. Our pupils must be brought into fresh, living contact with a larger variety of carefully selected material which should approximate the idea of a secular or school Bible, and studies here should be extensive as well as intensive. Interest in all foreign languages, as well as English itself, should be developed by wider knowledge of story roots of the great authors and the conditions under which they write and which they express, for modern languages, even German, will be

not less but more necessary henceforth, and we must give no quarter to the jingoistic policy that would banish German from our schools but rather take the broader view of our German enemies who insist that English needs to be studied there now more than ever before. Not to do this is to make further sacrifices on the altar of the Moloch, *Kultur*.

(b) As to sciences, we must give Biology greater prominence and lay chief stress for beginners on its practical applications in the great fields of hygiene, regimen, and body-keeping generally; second, on its economic value as a preventative of waste, insect pests alone destroying, we are told, a billion dollars' worth of crops each year here; and, thirdly, we must show its connections with heredity and eugenics, topics which can no longer be left uncultivated. As to Physics and Chemistry, both have their humanistic side, which might he brought out by glances at the lives of the great creators of these sciences and also at the innumerable applications from toys up to the latest marvels of mechanical invention. These are pedagogic modes of approach to the severer and perhaps more mathematical and purely abstract aspects. Many industries are becoming more and more completely dependent upon these sciences, particularly chemistry. If in addition to this we could teach the elements of Astronomy for its sublimity and spirit of uplift, and of Geology and Paleontology and Anthropology to show the developmental stages of man, and thus escape one of the very gravest pedagogic handi-

caps of our age, viz., the prejudice which makes so many of our high school and even college graduates finish their academic training with no conception of the tremendous uplift which a sympathetic knowledge of evolution gives, we should have a genuine mental enfranchisement.

(c) As to more humanistic studies, History, since it culminates in the events of the last few years, might now perhaps with some advantage begin here and work backward, for it is no less logical to go from effect to cause than vice versa, and we should have in the end the same sense of sequence. It should also be taught practically and in close relation to civics as well as to physical geography, and should stress patriotism, not in a chauvinistic but catholic way, and above all we should remember that, especially in the lower grades, it is the moral traits and possibilities that are by far the most important here, for just in proportion as history is seen in a long and wide perspective, we see it dominated from first to last, hardly less than the Old Testament itself, by ethical forces.

As to Psychology, which now faces a great and for it a new danger of becoming merely ancillary to business and industry by grading and fitting intelligence to the innumerable grooves of our complex industrial life, we should not forget that it is *per se* the very quintessence of humanism. The world is what human nature has made it. It is the soul that education seeks to develop and religion seeks to save. As op-

posed to behaviorism versus introspection, geneticism is now opening a great middle highway, as is seen in the new anthropology, paidology, the Russian food psychology, and in psychanalysis, which began as a medical aid and is now fast becoming an all-embracing culture school affecting methods in history, art, sociology, economics, and religion, as well as giving us for the first time a new and evolutionary conception of the human soul, and which has already shown present-day psychologists that most of them have been living in a pre-evolutionary age.

Economics and Sociology, too, not only have new and wider fields and louder calls for practical studies, but the theories of property, of trade and exchange, of labor and capital, of even family and domestic life must be reformulated. The prejudices in some quarters still cherished against these sciences as either narrow or doctrinaire are fast being overcome, and men are having a new conception of what the very social or gregarious instinct, and all the forms of human association that it prompts, really means and can do.

(d) Religion is cryingly in need of a new dispensation. Countless clergymen at the front have seen the limitations of the old creeds and of even certain forms of service, and have found new ideals and postulated reforms of a far-reaching nature. The school, which hitherto had dealt with this problem in the rather cheap though in its time very effective method of secularization, must now find some way of bring-

ing back the religious spirit into our system of public as well as private education. The abatement of sects and their intolerance, and more mutual understanding and comradeship, which the war has stimulated, must now find other expressions of the very essence of religion, which is love and service of God and man, so that the school, which everywhere began as an outgrowth of the religious sentiment, shall be able to utilize it again. Whatever cultivated adults may think of religion, its formulations of transcendentalities will forever be of the greatest value to growing minds, and that we have no widespread and strong effort to bring in the new dispensation that is possible here, and which France has seemed well on the way to realizing even before the war, shows that we have not risen to one of the very highest of all the demands of the new morale.

The medical and legal professions have an ethical code which, if too flagrantly violated, may lead to debarring from practice or at least from the association. These are meant to keep up morale, and the Hippocratic oath appeals more to the sense of honor than to that of duty. Indeed the maintenance of standards for all degrees, even those that are honorary, is a matter of morale for institutions conferring them. The moral tone of the higher institutions of learning, and even of secret college fraternities, differs very greatly, as is seen in the *licet* and *non licet* sentiment of student graduate opinion. In southern colleges the appeal to honor, even in such matters as cheating

at examinations, has proved more effective than in northern institutions, due to the old cavalier chivalry which can do what the vestiges of the Puritan conscience in the North and East cannot do. Each institution tends to develop a spirit peculiar to itself, something too intangible to be accessible to any academic survey, and rarely defined but very effective, *e. g.*, in the loyalty of the alumni.

Research, too, has its own morale, which requires full acknowledgment of the work of others, whether rivals, assistants, or even students, and a gentlemanly tone of criticism. The professor who is also an investigator and who would train others to advance the boundaries of knowledge, should have no reservations from his advanced fellows and should not make them merely ancillary to his own work, as has been so common in German universities. He must nurse them along and realize that to-day the higher education is complete for no one until his mind has been set into independent activity and he has striven with all his might to contribute something, trivial though it be, to the sum of human knowledge. In some topic, whatever it may be, he must feel that he is a master and an authority, that he can really teach anyone, and this will make him more docile to the contributions of others in our modern expert-ruled world. One experience of submitting a new thesis to the consensus of the competent often marks the end of apprenticeship and the beginning of mastership. It is a kind of royal accolade. It is like the first taste of blood to

a young tiger. It is the acme of democracy, at once the culmination and the palladium of individuality, and makes the student a citizen in the world of savants.

Faculties, too, must be democratized at the expense, whenever necessary, of the power of presidents and deans. Their members should control all internal affairs that pertain to how and what to teach, standards, degrees, etc., and academic freedom should be limited only by the present and prospective service of the institution to the community.

As to control, every school-board must be kept as pure from every suspicion of party politics as from jobbery and corruption. The superintendent must be given complete authority in every item of methods and internal organization, the planning of buildings, the engagement and even discharge of teachers, etc. In all these things he must be an expert recognized and trusted as such. Boards should be small and elected by the people at large instead of by wards. All public academic control must also be non-sectarian but approved, and even denominational institutions may share in the public funds. In the old Eastern endowed and also in the state colleges and universities the body of alumni should be represented on the Board, and current methods of "drives" for funds, which now sometimes almost amount to extortion and hold-ups, should be mitigated, and executives should be relieved of the duty of excessive beggary and be able to wear their hats on their heads, and not be

obliged to stand in the market place with them in their hands. Trustees should never meddle with internal matters, even of organization, any more than presidents should invade departments, and the teaching staff should have trustee representation. Traveling agents and drummers of students, too flagrant advertising, and competitive bidding and over-biddings for Fellows are not compatible with the highest morale or with academic dignity or self-respect. Bachelors seeking higher degrees should not sell themselves to the highest bidder but should be sympathetically encouraged to weigh and compare not only the merit of each institution and its general fitness to supply what they need, but to evaluate the reputation of individual professors, which should count for so much but in fact counts for so little in such choices.

All knowledge whatever originated in practical needs. It grew only because and so far as it was useful. This the history of each science and of culture in general abundantly shows, and so does the logic of psychogenesis. Helmholtz said in substance that all of our real knowledge of any object, *e. g.,* a chair, if analyzed, consists of nothing whatever but an *ensemble* of actual or posssible uses of it, and Kant made such basal concepts and postulates as even those of God, freedom, and soul undemonstrable by themselves but superior to the categories of pure reason because they work so well, for working well is the supreme test not only of all hypotheses but of all

ideas. Accepting this pragmatism, all that we call pure or abstract knowledge only seems so to us because the services it was evolved to perform are no longer needed or better done otherwise, that is, because we have forgotten the history of culture.

All these branches of learning that have no practical application now once had or they would never have arisen. Without this they are vestigial. All their so-called liberal culture value, which is often very great, is simply recapitulatory, giving the student a larger repertory of the successive mental attitudes of the soul as the individual rushes up the phyletic ladder which the race has so slowly and laboriously climbed. It also helps to knit the manifold constellations that compose the soul of the individual into a unity against all the dissociative tendencies of modern life.

But always and everywhere all knowledge that is useless is dead, and hence all educational institutions and methods, indispensable as they are, must be a little falsetto and unreal compared with the teachings of the great school of life, success in which is the supreme test as well as the origin of all intellectual content and values. Mere learning, especially when cloistered with a minimum of usefulness, may become a psychological monstrosity and be evolved at the expense of service and bring progressive paralysis of social efficiency. *Kennen, können, thun, Charakter* are the four stages of true wisdom.

Now it is in this field of conduct that this dispro-

portion between knowing and doing is greatest. None of us lives up to our knowledge even in such matters as diet, regimen, sex, and personal hygiene generally. The same is true in individual, social, civic, and religious life. In these domains dead knowledge most abounds, and if all lived up to their highest insights and realized all the good intentions they feel instead of letting them pave hell, the world would take a great step forward in the pathway of regeneration. It is true everywhere but most of all here that as under the principles of the new charity, which has become a science as well as a virtue, we have no right to give doles to beggars unless we can rely upon some agency that sees to it that our gift does the recipient good and not harm, so we have no right to impart knowledge unless we have some effective method of assurance that the learning we teach will seep down into the heart and touch disposition, and predispose those who acquire it to use its power for good rather than for evil. The ancient sophists taught that knowing virtue was halfway to its achievement, and that to sin knowingly was better than to sin ignorantly. Christianity teaches exactly the reverse. Thus in a sense it is a dangerous thing to study ethics and to try to teach virtue, which so many men of ancient Greece thought could not be done because the contrast between the high ideals of a conscience thus enlightened and daily life is all the greater. This danger was well illustrated in the report of the French Commission on the teaching of civics and morals in the

upper grades of the Lycée, wherein it was set forth that the best class work in the study of the texts on this subject and also the best theses in this field were by no means the work of the best but often of the worst boys. If we only had a means of reducing back to primeval ignorance those who make a bad use of knowledge, society would be vastly benefited. This is uniquely true also in all those fields of intellection where questions of right and wrong are involved. If we teach the young to prove that honesty is the best policy, we may by the very process of so doing invite the casuistry that would disprove it, and so of all the virtues, for to sophisticate is to weaken them. Knowing may not only come to vicariate for duty but may atrophy the will. Thus it is that by what seems a strange paradox it is precisely in the domain of morals that morale is prone to sink lowest, if not to pass over into its opposite.

We are proud to call ours a Christian civilization and age, but do we imitate Christ or do we not rather vicariate for so doing by the method of overdetermination or stressing creeds, rites, and orthodoxies chiefly of intellectual origin? Jesus was the world's model of self-abnegation, pure, obedient to the Great Father, and He regarded riches and honors as vanity. If He came again, would He deem the church Christian or more like the Pharisees of His day? Have we lost some of the flavor of sincerity and real conviction here? So, too, we profess democracy, but do we believe, practice, or have we merely begun to realize

it? In our educational system we have gone far, but are we nearing the true goal of man's perfection? We now know much of eugenics but practice its laws only on our flocks and crops. We are taught thrift and economy but are the most wasteful of all nations and most regardless of our natural resources.

Now, morale consists in acting up to our best knowledge, and the loss of it is marked by the accumulation of dead knowledge not cast into conduct forms or wrought into habit. It is just here that we find at least one bright spot in the somber horizon, viz., physical culture, not so much as it is as it seems beginning to be and may sometime become if more of its leaders have more vision. The muscles are the organs of the will, and if they are developed and kept at concert pitch, nothing could probably do quite so much to narrow the wide and deep chasm between our noetic and our conative faculties. The old *Turners* said that this muscle culture made them *frisch, frei, fröhlich,* and *fromm.* We would not merely cultivate the therapeutic athletics that finds weak parts and functions, and devises and prescribes methods and apparatus to strengthen them. Nor was Jahn's idea of making the body able to do everything possible for it as a machine sufficient. Nor is the more frenzied training to win special victories on the diamond, gridiron, or in the ring sufficient. We need a universal compulsory body cult, with examinations, to counteract the physical degeneration produced by urban and sedentary life and the ever greater special-

ization of our industries, which has now been so startlingly revealed to us by the percentage of unfitness among the draftees. Modern life overworks the smaller accessory muscles and tends to neglect the older and more massive ones that move the trunk and limbs.

Now, action is the language of complete men, and no culture is finally acquired that does not pass over and become set in conduct and habits, for doing is the best method and organ of knowing. The deeper the stratum of motor mechanization in which we embody our good impulses and precepts, the more complete and secure is their acquisition. Thus the better the quality of muscle, the more effective the will, for motor habits pre-form not only character and conduct but belief itself. Virtue is chiefly a matter not of knowledge but of practice. It is an art vastly more than a science, skill more than ideas. Even the purest thought is only action more or less repressed, just as all aesthetic enjoyment springs from and can be genetically reduced back to service, because all of what we call beauty is simply what once was use. All culture that stops in the first and most superficial, *i. e.,* the noetic stage, is not only useless but dangerous, and the conflicts it engenders are a serious drain upon morale.

Now physical education and hygiene have cultural possibilities which our colleges and universities, owing to their deplorably low morale, have never begun to appreciate. Faculties and athletic committees

have to profess and cultivate a falsetto enthusiasm for it while secretly though perhaps unconsciously fearing it (a fear unheard of in any other authorized field of academic life), or they are at least jealous of the enthusiasm often manifested for a popular and successful coach. Perhaps there never was a professor who dabbled with athletic rules or rooted with the undergraduates at an interscholastic game who would not almost mortgage his soul if he knew how to generate in his own department a hundredth part of the zest and enthusiasm that goes into these great conflicts. Could this entire energy be turned upon the work of the classroom, library, seminary, and study, we should have nothing less than an academic revival. But most academic dons are pitifully timid of routine and tradition, and their meetings are so tedious and dreary as to suggest Pope's "Dunciad" or Dickens' "Circumlocution Office." Nothing worth while is ever likely to emanate from faculties.

But the first step toward rescuing academic morale could best be taken in the field of body culture, because only here can we find those with muscle taut enough to do the right thing when they know it. Let, then, the athletes and their leaders and organizers insist that one or more chairs on the subject be established as soon as the right men can be found or trained, for I doubt if more than one or at the most three could be found ready to-day in the whole country. This department should be given full aca-

demic rank and credits, and its culture value amply realized. There are wide fields here quite uncurricularized which are rank with educational possibilities. Hygiene—public and personal—for almost everything man does, physical and mental, can be done in a hygienic or unhygienic way; precepts—national, family and personal—for preserving health and preventing illness; plays, games, and recreations, and their history down to the modern playground; the story and culture value of each of the chief sports and athletic contests of to-day and of the past; the wonderful record of gymnastics in ancient Greece, especially in her four great festivals where "everyone who loved gold or glory came" and "in comparison to the splendor of which Death and Night never seemed so black;" the patriotic *Turner* movement of Jahn and his followers who said that only strong muscles can make men great and nations free, toward which German rulers felt the same timidity and suspicion that many modern dons do toward our great games; the chief systems of physical training—all have culture motives and results.

There should be, too, a few leaves from the history of medicine in its long fight with man's great enemy, disease, all treated in the broad way of Billroth or of Sprengel, who made the story of the healing art almost coëxtensive with histories of both science and philosophy. The culture values of dancing, too, boxing, fencing, swimming, wrestling, discus-throwing and shot-putting, leaping, running, rowing, should be

brought out, stressing always training, regimen, and the contributions and dangers of each for morale, and showing the value of each kind of exercise and even of each industry for character and diathesis, for bringing out the spirit of team-work, justice, fair play, honesty, honor, and true sportsmanship. The mandate to these new professors should be to save for culture all the enthusiasm that is now so largely wasted, and in the reaction of the tensions engendered often worse than wasted. As hydrographic engineers now seek to use the mountain floods that once made deep canyons and left arid wastes between and above them, so the boundless enthusiasm for physical perfection and achievement should be made to irrigate both life and study. To be weak in youth is generally due to sin and shame somewhere. Besides all this work, it is high time that we now tested and prescribed for everyone at every age, and aim at nothing less than national and racial regeneration, for it is not enough to minimize the dissociation (Janet) and disharmonious (Metchnikoff) tendencies so rife in our unique age.

CHAPTER XVIII

MORALE AND STATESMANSHIP

The tendency of the soundest minds to become neurotic when confronted by great problems—The Nemesis of mediocrity—Disproportionate magnification of items of the treaty—Loss of perspective and the power to compromise—Failure of the League as involving a relapse to the old selfish continental policy of each nation for itself.

The hardest of all the hard things man does in this world is to look a very new and complex situation that is pressing and important squarely in the face, comprehend all its elements, assign each its due weight, and then respond by the right attitude, behavior, or decision. To grapple with a great and vital problem, to act aright in novel conditions undaunted by their difficulties, and on great occasions to be able to summon all our energies and focus them upon a new goal, when this involves the very conditions of survival, is the essence and acme of morale. The psychology of greatness teaches us that it consists chiefly in seeing everything in the Here and Now or in the power of "presentification," while the weakling flees from reality. Great spirits love and seek, small ones shun occasions to meet which they must activate all their powers. When such occasions come unsought, men hitherto inconspicuous often find in themselves abilities to see and do that were unsuspected, perhaps even by themelves, and thus great

crises bring forward new leaders while old guides are found wanting. Not only has all human progress from the very origin of man been made or at least led by those who had this "excelsior" type of morale, whose all too often unworded if not unconscious spirit was that suggested by such ancient phases as *Impavi progrediamur, carpe diem,* "nothing ventured, nothing have," and the like, but animal species through all the evolutionary ages have survived or perished according as they had or had not the power of adaptation to the great cosmic changes that went on in their environment.

Psychanalysis is now teaching us the same lesson in its field. When the problem of his or her life becomes too complicated to be faced and met, the neurotic constitution takes flight from reality either to sickness or to symptoms, phobias, obsessions, or inhihibition, and perversions arise, and cure consists in envisaging again and aright, with the help of a wise physician, the essential facts and conditions that confront the patient's present life and setting him again on the right trail. Thus, in a word, cure is restoration of the patient's morale. The ingenuities shown in the manifold ways of escaping this one thing needful are beyond all computation and show how clever and adept the human soul is, far down below the limits of consciousness, in shirking the *devoir présent* when it becomes too arduous. Some of these fugitives from facts as they are react to infantile states where the conditions of life were simpler. In dementia

praecox the patient becomes a Narcissus and loves and admires only himself, and is arrested in the pubescent stage of his development. Or, again, he may become a conceited, egoistic, foolish doctrinaire impervious to arguments. Others grow rancorous, suspect plots and persecutions, and evolve endless precautions against imaginary dangers. Still others become too timorous to act or even to think and fritter away their energies in inane doubts, and welter in inanities until all the flavor of conviction is lost.

As I write, our Congress and our thinking public are confronted in the consideration of the Treaty and the League of Nations with the most intricate and difficult problem that the cultural world has ever faced. Few have even read all the texts themselves, and of those who have done so, still fewer in this new country, so remote from Europe and really so ignorant of it, are able to see all the relations of its items to the past of European nations and peoples, to say nothing of the Orient and of the future. Never have even the wisest had such a sense of their own incompetency to know all that they would and should in the premises, and to act aright in an emergency where a decision must soon be made.

The simplest and easiest way, therefore, is to scrap the whole treaty, and this course would be bound to grow more seductive to some, while our sense of the tremendous moment and epoch-making complexity of it and of our own "apperceptive insufficiency" increases. This course would bring a sudden sense of

holiday easement, like the jubilee remission of a great debt that long had been hanging over us. Like the conscientious objector to war, those who advocate this view might almost be accused of slackerdom unworthy of the spirit of our own soldiers who faced the awful chance of death for a cause they thought worthy of it. This course finds the widest approval among the pacifists, who have the horror of all conflicts characteristic of some neurotics. To revert to our former isolation, however, would be to repudiate most of the obligations and opportunities which the war has brought. "Safety first" means to men of this type our own present safety, for what is posterity and what is Europe to us? Without vision peoples perish, but prophetic insight into the future is too hazardous, and adequate knowledge of European conditions is too hard. By remaining juvenile we escape growing pains. It is better to balk and buck than to draw or carry the heavy load our manifest destiny now lays upon us. In fact, it is as much our duty to help settle the world we have done so much to unsettle as it was to enter the war, and to counsel abrogation is like calling a retreat after our soldiers had won a hard victory instead of reaping its fruits. It would also be to break faith with and desert our allies in the most critical hour.

In fact neither the power nor the spirit of the enemy is broken. He is certain to reorganize eastward and make common cause with Slavic Russia, and the real menace to the world's future, although

we cannot date it, is most ominous. The Central, and we know not what Eastern and Southern powers will some time be launched on a campaign of revenge and recompense for the hard conditions of the present peace, and if Western Europe falls, this country will soon follow. Henceforth, thus, our fate is indissolubly bound up with that of at least our two chief allies wherever the other nations that took part in the great war shall be found in the future alignment. Whether we wish it or not, we are henceforth in a very real sense a part of Europe ("New Europe"). Never have we had so many interests there, and all of them are bound to grow; for this country is to be a great factor, as it never began to be before, in every item of European diplomacy and trade. Why, then, should we not face the realities of the situation instead of attempting to evade or retreat from them? We can no more help integration with western Europe than our original colonies could escape federation. Here, again, it is "liberty and union now and forever one and inseparable" or, expressed in more fundamental biological terms, synthesis must go hand in hand with differentiation or there is retrogression toward the protozoan or unicellular stage of life.

Besides the *fugue* type of reaction to the Treaty and its issues is the regression-to-infancy type. When we were but a row of colonies along the Atlantic, it was our obvious policy to utilize our isolation. We had just broken away from Europe, and it was manifestly

wise to let her alone and be let alone by her; and under this quasi hermit policy we grew and prospered. Just as adults often hark back to the allurements of their childhood and home, and long for its happy carelessness and protection; and as in an overcivilized age and land jaded souls like Rousseau would retreat to a state of nature and revel in dreams of primitive Arcadian simplicity when the world was young; so souls world-wearied with an age of strenuosity and efficiency long for the paradisaic state of callow infancy, ignoring the fact that the very trend that made Washington and his associates federalists would make them league-advocates to-day. In fact, the new era which the close of the war ushers in has made all precedents, traditions, and previous history seem a little stale and pedantic. The past has its lessons, but in a new age too much reliance upon them may prove a greater hindrance than help.

When we consider parties, of which De Tocqueville well said every state needs at least two—the one conservative, mindful that no good thing of the past be lost, and the other progressive, that seeks chiefly the new duties that new occasions always demand—we see how far we have drifted from this ideal. By the war the power and patronage of the government has grown enormously. Not only has taxation and our total annual income and expenditure increased by leaps and bounds, but the government seems more or less likely to control at least some of the great public service institutions hitherto private corporations. The

possession and operation of these vast interests and the "spoils of office," likely in the future to be far greater than in the past,—these are now the goal of each party, and thus the prizes to the winner are vaster than have ever been dreamed of by politicians before. This is why the non-partisanship of the war has been so prematurely abandoned and we find our rival parties struggling with each other for the control of this vast patronage. In Washington we have the spectacle of nearly all the great questions of reconstruction debated and settled nearly along partisan lines, with only a narrow margin of individual conviction. Each party is, for the most part, intent upon making political capital at the expense of the other, for the struggle now is for the control of the vast business of the nation for the next presidential quadrennium. This lapse from statesmanship is nothing less than profiteering in politics and indicates the collapse of political morale just when it should be at its very highest and best. The strongest argument against public ownership is that along with the increase of material interests at stake, there will be a corresponding increase in the bitterness of the conflict between the "ins" and "outs," and that in these struggles the very traditions of lofty, disinterested statesmanship that is intent solely on the good of the people as a whole, will be lost beyond recall. Thus it is hard to see how a great nation can survive if everyone who controls any of it is "on the make" for himself, for his business, or for the interests that elect

and perhaps retain him and his party in power.

The doctrinaire is no less psychotic and ill-adapted to meet great new issues. He is an absolutist and perhaps an idealogue. He luxuriates in his own convictions, and is so hyperindividualized and cocksure he is right that it is very hard for him to do teamwork and to make the compromises and concessions always essential for joint action. For those who oppose him there is no excuse or explanation except the worst. To adopt the lesser evil in order to attain the greater good seems to him as impossible as "going to Canossa" did to Bismarck, or as seeing any good in Rome did to the Puritan Protestant. His entire professional experience has been that of an advocate and not that of a judge, and real arbitration is often almost impossible for him. He has too much will for his intellect. His temperamental recalcitrancy may make him irreconcilable even to his party and his constituents, and perhaps his own interests. While others hesitate or change as they grow wiser, his certainty is absolute. With him inconsistency is almost a phobia.

Here, again, we have an illustration of the great law that even those able and sane enough in the ordinary emergencies of their lives develop every symptom of neurasthenia when confronted by exigencies too great for their mental or moral powers. The weakling breaks down because he cannot solve the ordinary problems of his livelihood, family, and social relations. So, too, the strongest become weaklings

when called upon to face problems of world dimension. It is all a question of the proportion between tasks and ability. It has long been recognized by the few wise men of the world that the institutions of civilization, the industries, the management of state, the corpus of knowledge and science, discoveries and inventions, etc., were becoming too big and complicated to be adequately managed by men of the caliber that our institutions now produce. It is ever harder to find able leaders and guides. Thus mediocrity and incompetency cause vast wastage of human energy and material resources.[1] Faced, thus, by the colossal task of reconstructing the world, before which not only we but the most sagacious and experienced experts of Europe, who are closer to their problems than we, can act only more or less tentatively and provisionally, what is our cue out of the labyrinth of all these perplexities and difficulties?

To this there is one answer and but one recourse, and that it is the deathless glory of this country to have suggested and to have done much to make operative. It is to make an appeal to the deepest, simplest, and clearest of all the instincts in the human soul, the instinct of justice. Every human being has within him the sense of fair play and of a square deal. Somehow and somewhere and at some time

[1] See *The Cult of Incompetence* by E. Faguet (1911); *Le Problems de la Competence dans la Democratic* by Joseph Barthelemy (Paris, 1918); *Originality* by T. S. Knowlson (1918); *Professionalism and Originality*, by F. H. Hayward (London, 1917); also Ralph Adams Cram's two small volumes. *The Nemesis of Mediocrity*, 52, 1917, and *The Sins of the Fathers*, 114, 1919.

the world feels that the virtuous must be happy and the wicked suffer. Pleasure and merit on the one hand, iniquity and pain on the other, belong together or this world is a moral chaos and there is no polarity of right and wrong. Job did not yield to his counsellors because he had an invincible sense that this must be so. It was because these two did not always seem to go together that all future states of rewards and punishments were evolved, for if justice were meted out here, heavens and hells would be less needed. All penal cults and all social approval and censure, all drama and romance, are based on and illustrate the law that both the evil and the good get their deserts. No artist would dare represent it otherwise, for to do so would be pessimism.

All the people of the earth must be assured life, liberty, and security in the pursuit of happiness under law, and this must take precedence over all material, national, diplomatic, dynastic, or other interests. This our democracy has in some sense and to some degree striven to and now has actually sought to teach, although it must be admitted with only partial but yet with an inspiring degree of success at Versailles. It was a sublime and world-challenging attitude that we were able to take in renouncing indemnities and all advantages that we might have claimed for our work in turning the tide of war, and insisting only by way of compensation for what we had done upon simple justice for all people and such safeguards against future aggression as

could be provided. Paramount to all other questions and as a condition precedent to everything in the way of settlement, we insisted on the simple moral law of righteousness.

In some senses our President was a prophet coming from the wilderness in the crisis to proclaim the primal principles of right and wrong as common sense and common law conceived them. To do the right thing in all the ways specified in the fourteen points was all he counseled. Thus our president was a new "Daniel come to judgment" for his message expressed the highest morale of this country and also of the whole conference. While the delegates of other peoples were strenuous in insisting upon their own advantages, he alone set the right in the highest place.

He is a pedagogue and lectures Congress much in the *de haut en bas* spirit he would use to his Princeton seniors, and he has all the pedagogue's resentment at correction, criticism, opposition, or even searching interrogation. He can work well only with his subordinates, not with his peers. He has made errors galore, as subsequent events have shown, but who could be infallible in the many momentous decisions that the war has forced him to make. He is efficient in attack and sometimes seems to have a genius for exciting needless animosities. Compromise and concession come especially hard for one of his diathesis. But, on the other hand, his great achievement of appealing to the conscience of the world and insisting that the plain principles of ethics should prevail

between nations as between individuals in a community, has assured him forever a very high place in the history of this country and the world; and whatever the fate of the League of Nations, and whatever he does or fails to do in the future, this will remain one of the greatest achievements of our age.

To be quitters now would not only be to betray our soldiers living and dead, make their work abortive, and leave this war as unfinished as our Civil War would have been without the Emancipation Proclamation, but it would also be betraying our Allies, especially France. Within the League we can do much for the smaller nationalities and eventually even for China, while outside it we can do little. Within it we are relatively safe from all future wars; without it we must at once set to work organizing a powerful army and navy and be prepared for eventualities, with our front line along the east of France abandoned for one on our own coast-line. To withdraw now would be suicidal for all our economic interests abroad and would tend to limit our enterprise to the narrower horizon of the home market clubs. The advantages and opportunities opened by the League are far too vast to be calculated at present, and business needs only to wake up to the new world opening before it ere it is too late; when it does, the narrowness and perversity of those who would scuttle the League or use it as a football of party politics will be realized. Free and normal economic life is now the surest guarantee of peace, while

restraints and handicaps of industry and trade are now and henceforth chief among all the *causae belli.*

One more neurotic trend is now in evidence here. When confronted by a grave and complex situation, the psychopathic constitution tends to focus on one or more of its items and to magnify them beyond all bounds, ignoring others and losing all sense of perspective and proportion. The larger view of the whole is lost in particular and special aspects of it, and the patient cannot see the forest but only individual trees. In this process of overdetermination the general emotional excitement is transferred and concentrated upon a single point, and this is made either an erotic, phobic, or perhaps an anger fetish. Other no less important points remain *bewusstseins-unfähig, i. e.,* the field of consciousness is too narrow for them to get into it at all or to attain the prominence they deserve in it. So, in the discussion of this momentous treaty of twenty-six articles, nearly all the time and attention has been focussed upon a very few of them, the importance of which has been disproportionately overestimated, while other articles of even greater moment for the world as a whole almost escaped attention. A sense of the treaty as a whole remains almost entirely undeveloped save by a scant half dozen men in this country, and these all outside of Congress. Can we get out of the League, and with little difficulty and promptly if we ever want to; can we, with our *noli me tangere* tendencies and with almost a phobia of interference in our

own affairs from without, not have a little stronger phraseology on the Monroe Doctrine, using this opportunity to exact something like recognition of it from our Allies; will Japan, a country where the old Bushido spirit makes honor and fidelity to pledges a religion and which has a more flawless diplomatic record than any great country in Europe, be relied upon to keep the letter and spirit of its pledge of restoring Shantung and name a date; shall we scrap the whole treaty because of the injustice of one item of it, or because in questions that require absolute unanimity we have but one instead of six votes—these are questions important, of course, but of really narrow import as compared with the many others which the treaty involves and of which we have heard almost nothing. Thus our baffled and distraught wiseacres, trying to cope with problems too many and great for them, have taken refuge in and fetishized into factitious importance items like the above, which have been surcharged with all the emotion transferred to them from the field of party rivalry, personal antagonism, and especially from the deep and more unconscious sense of their own insufficiency. Such are the motives some of them adduce for insisting upon not merely recommendations and reservations but amendments, a course which would involve not only all the hardships and disadvantages of delay but is liable in the end to involve a relapse to our old policy of isolation.

The critics of the League, too, have thus far not

only shown themselves destructive and not constructive but have shown a singular incapacity to grasp the chief constructive features of it. We have heard little of the rehabilitation of Poland and the other nation-states that have been restored or created outright; of the great transformations in the Balkans; and of the new epoch for Turkey and Constantinople, for so many centuries the heart of European intrigue and in some sense a key not only to the Near but to the Far East; of the unprecedented new opportunities which the treaty will open for trade; of the removal of the handicap of autocracy which has brought a new sense of not only relief but of exhilaration to the world, which has caught from us "the spirit of '76;" of the dismemberment of the artificial and cruel Hapsburg domain. Still less have we been warmed by the spirit of moral uplift that comes from the new possibility of realizing at last the age-long dream of a federation of the world and the democratization of all its members. Nor have we tried to realize what the internationalization of labor, now made practical, involves. The official watchmen we have placed in our outlook towers have given us little help in realizing what the most sagacious and learned of all students of ancient Greece called the four great culture powers, not only of the classic but of the modern world: its *ethos* or moral sense; its *logos* or reason and science so far as man has reached conclusions about the cosmos and the place he holds in it, which all adopt; *nomos* or the formulated laws and rules of

all collective life and society; and the *mythos* or all the culture power inherent in idealizations, traditions, hopes and all the loftier products of the imagination.

The final verdict on the Treaty-League is what these supreme judges will say when we hear from them. To get into *rapport* with these larger aspects of the question we need generalizations that are really such. We need also sentiments at their best and distinct from a sentimentality that appeals only to the superficies of the mind, a poetry that is inspired by the loftiest of humanistic ideals, an eloquence that makes a higher appeal than to mob and party passions—in a word we need the best thing that true religion can give, faith in a power that makes for righteousness and has done so through all the ages, and which inspires men to recognize, seize, and make the most and best of new and great opportunities when they present themselves. What the citizen voter wants is a broad bird's-eye view from an altitude sufficient to bring out the salient features in their proper relief and to show their general relations to each other and to the course of history. We need leaders who can look up rather than down like Bunyan's muckraker, who can use not only the microscope but the telescope as well, who can reorient the course of the Ship of State by appealing from dead reckoning to the eternal stars and to what Kant called their only rival in sublimity, the moral law within. Only this course can give and perpetuate our leadership of

the world. Amendments that recommit the treaty and which cannot possibly be adopted, or which involve a new and independent treaty with Germany, from which we can never begin to secure advantages such as the League offers us, are nothing less than wanton sabotage and emasculation of morale for which we and our posterity will have to make long and tedious reparation.

All countries of Europe, particularly France and Poland, made great concessions to Wilsonian ideas, great as was the sacrifice of national aspirations which these involved. Italy and Roumania have already shown marked tendencies to break away and relapse to the old selfish nationalism so characteristic of the policies of continental Europe. If the League fails, all these countries are sure to revert, some sooner some later, to the old methods of each country for itself, and the great hope of new and better things for the world and of more altruistic national policies will abort, and the old spectacle of each country for itself will again hold sway.

We went into the war to make the world safe for democracy, but we have made it very unsafe for the new democracies we have created, and we must not now make it contemptible. During the war we gave the splendid spectacle of a great country laying aside differences of party, section, creed, and class, and to some degree of every personal and financial interest, and uniting as we had never done before in all our history in a great cause. Now every party, interest,

and even type of individuality is asserting itself regardless of the common welfare, until the spectacle we present to the world is one of discord and strife almost unprecedented. In this change we have sunk from the zenith almost to the nadir of morale. The spirit of concession, which is the very basis of democracy, seems to have taken its flight from among us. Our President, always an ultra-individualist, seems no longer capable of rising to the great possibilities of the hour, and our Senate seems paralyzed and is holding up the business of the country, checking the progress of the world, and jeopardizing if it has not lost the leadership which the issues of the war gave it a chance to perpetuate.

Volumes of wordy debates on questions which a few dozen business men would have settled in a few weeks informally around a green table have thrown everything out of proportion, and have also resulted in inflaming not only partisan but the most intense personal rancors and in confirming almost everyone in his own individual opinion. There is a general drift toward the attitude of irreconcilability, which, when attained, makes anyone, especially law-makers, unfit for every administrative or legislative usefulness. The voice of practically the whole country cries out to the White House and to the Capitol to settle the Treaty and the League somehow, anyhow, and get down to work on the vast body of delayed legislation ever larger and ever more pressing, and the neglect of which is daily more disastrous not only

to the government generally, which has never been brought into such disrepute or lost respect and prestige to such a degree before, but to our material prosperity and the morale of the entire nation. But the voice of the people is as unheeded if not as unheard in Washington as are the voices of the few real statesmen among us, who are to a man outside of the Senatorial halls or administrative circles. Does frenzied politics make our representatives insane? Have none of them been inspired with the common sense of Lincoln, who simply brought to the great affairs of the nation in distress the same homely, practical spirit of equity that a country squire applies to disputes within his township? Lincoln would have said to the Senate, "A plague on both your parties. Agree on any reservations and I will accept your verdict and waive my personal objections, if I must, *ad majorem gloriam patriae.* But agree, and that quickly, and get busy and earn your salaries, which are now worse than wasted." An emperor would have dissolved the Senate and decreed a new election. A czar might have abolished Congress as purely obstructive and obsessive, and settled the matter himself with his ministers. A Bismarck would have read the "Levites" from the Speaker's desk at the Capitol, criticizing each party and faction, and defied or whipped all recalcitrants into line. A Cromwell would have turned our Congress out with an armed force, with clanking armors in the senatorial floors and galleries. But we are a democracy and so can

do none of these things, but must wait, suffer, be patient, hope, and perhaps pray for divine intervention in the hearts of men that may bring contrition, sanity, and a larger view.

We need nothing less than a new school of statesmanship. League or no league, henceforth our relations will be far closer and mutual dependence far greater between different lands, and so the need of knowing the mind and even the secret heart of especially the other leading peoples of the world will be more pressing. Had England been less ignorant of the soul of her great competitor, Germany, she would not have been caught unprepared but would have foreseen more clearly and been ready for the inevitable. Statesmen must henceforth be experts in their knowledge not only of Europe but of the Orient. Their interests and their thoughts must henceforth take on more cosmic dimensions. We are an integral part of the world as never before whether we will it or not. Our press should unite its forces and vastly extend and perfect its system of gathering information throughout the world, especially at the great centers. It is a reproach to it that especially since the war ceased, we know almost nothing, save by occasional glimpses, of what is going on in parts of Europe in which our interests had been keenly aroused and which are now in the most critical condition.

Nor does our government itself begin to know these things as well as do those of Europe, whose consular and diplomatic agents are trained in special institu-

tions for the purpose, have served a long apprenticeship, and who can look forward to life careers if they choose this line of service because their positions are not liable to be made the spoils of office. The new statesmanship will not obscure great issues by party politics; nor will it allow even national greed and selfishness to stand in the way of the larger interests of man. In this way the morale of even politics, which is now so low all the way from the ward leader to the Senate, may be restored.

In the hierarchy of virtues patriotism ranks very high, but there is one and one only that outranks it, and that is love of mankind as a whole. Never has there been so much talk of Americanism and such need of teaching it to young and old, especially to recent comers to our shores. But Americanism must not lapse to fanaticism or be made a cloak for any kind of the narrow, selfish, jingoism that penalizes and persecutes rather than persuades all radical opinions. Moreover, there is already a true internationalism in the field of missions, trade, capitalism, and to-day of labor. Now, it is a great law of psychogenesis that the man who begins by loving even his country better than he loves mankind is not a desirable citizen of the world to-day, and as senescent involution begins in the fifth or sixth decades of life, such a one will very strongly tend to lapse to a lower stage in which he loves party more than country, or his sect more than religion, or his class interests more than those of the community, and he will also

strongly tend to end by loving himself and his own wish and will best of all. This retreat or katabasis of soul (the exact opposite of the expansive spirit of youth which is the only regenerative force in the world) is the fate of all who put acquisition above service. It is this trend to hyperindividuation of ever narrower groups that has been from the dawn of history one of the chief if not the essential cause of the decline and fall of the ancient states, and which if not contravened will undermine modern civilization. The fall of ancient Greece began in the disintegration of the sophists who affirmed that the truth was what it seemed to each. It began in Rome with the decline of the middle class as a result of the long struggles between the upper classes and the masses, the latter becoming almost enslaved and the former arrogant, luxurious, and self-indulgent. This was really the psychological cause, although, as some historians are now telling us, the malaria brought by Hannibal may have accelerated the decadence. Even the contemporary enthusiasm for syndicalism in France, if it involves abatement of love for *la patrie* because of more devotion to industrial groupings, is degenerative and can end only as a soviet.

One of the most clear and obvious conclusions from the incomparably complex life of our day, so full of conflicts between such innumerable group interests, and especially in a democracy, is that *the* chief criterion of true leadership is the power to compromise. All those in power must be ready to concede and to

accept a part when they cannot get the whole, as well as sometimes even to do the lesser evil to secure the greater good. Democratic leaders to-day must have the team spirit and submit to the arbitration of the umpire. Those who guide the Ship of State must be eager to get half a loaf if they cannot get the whole, and those captains or mates, be they presidents or senators, who cannot get together and adjust differences in the interests of the whole people and of the world are not pioneers but enemies of the new order of things now dawning. Irreconcilables whose motto is "all or nothing," those who exult in the tyranny of majorities, who have too much will for their heart, their conscience, or their intellect, manifest the very spirit that has made all the wars in history. A tonic cramp of the will, whether of the individual or a rumpy group or even a majority, is like scrap-iron that sabotages the delicate machinery of a democracy.

CHAPTER XIX

MORALE AND "THE REDS"

The intense appeal of radicalism—The need of a new type of professor of economics—Hatred of the "Reds" for nationalism and substitution of war between classes for the war between states—The international principle—What Bolshevik "nationalization" of property would mean in this country—Its undemocracy—The religious movement vs. it in Russia—Labor reorganization the hope of the world.

Red radicalism long antedated the war, which has, however, made it vastly more prevalent and formidable to the established order of things throughout the civilized world than it has ever been before in history. It has its fanatics, clever propagandists, and even its astute and more or less scholarly thinkers everywhere. Besides its own special literature widely and surreptitiously circulated, despite its exclusion from the mails and its penalization and frequent seizures, and its open and covert promulgation by speakers and writers who are its avowed disciples, there are far more subtle advocates of its principles whom we find in print everywhere, in academic halls, in society, and these "carriers" of the infection are themselves often hardly conscious that they are already in the first stages of the disease; and many of those they influence are already half-persuaded, even while honestly assuming an impartial and even negative attitude toward it. Very likely it will prove

that our chief danger lies in these intellectuals and their half-cultured, naïve, and half-conscious adherents. It is impossible to define radicalism since it has so many forms, stages, and parties often intensely hostile to each other. Its fundamental traits may, however, be roughly indicated as follows:

1. Labor. Practically all "reds" agree with Karl Marx that material wealth, if not all property, "originated in the five fingers of the working man." They have cleared land, made it fertile, raised all the crops, reared every kind of building, created and operated all the agencies of transportation, made and run all machines, etc. Thus if working men the world over simply folded their arms, not only all values would shrivel but mankind would starve or freeze and civilization be brought to a standstill. Workers numerically outnumber all others, and if they combined, they could take possession of the world any day. Labor does not even yet begin to realize its power and its prime and all-conditioning importance if it would only unite, and this is because of its age-long subjection to the ruling classes who exploit it but are really parasites upon it. Hence the call of the "reds" to the toilers is: Awake, arise, open your eyes, throw off your shackles, organize, and be ready and able, if and when the call comes, to strike, not in single trades, localities, or even countries but all together and everywhere when "the day" comes. Instead of being underlings, slaves, or "hands," as if labor were a commodity to be bought in the lowest and sold in

the highest markets like others, turn the tables upon your oppressors, take the helm, appropriate the wealth created by your sweat and blood, and take your rightful place in the sun and rule the world in a new righteousness, not forgetting that simple justice requires that your oppressors be themselves oppressed in their turn, for there is a sense in which not only capital but all property is robbery for which restitution, with interest, is the very least that can be demanded.

Now, first of all, we must realize what a toxin appeal all this makes to even the most ignorant toiler. It gives him a rankling sense that he has been a victim of age-long injustice, a self-pity that may rise to patheticism, a rancor against our whole system, not only industrial but social, moral, and even religious, and along with all this and despite its inconsistency with it a cankering feeling of inferiority. He magnifies all the confessed abuses of which the world is only now too full, and becomes suspicious lest ulterior and sinister designs lurk behind even the most sincere concessions to his claims, which makes all negotiations vastly harder.

How shall we set a backfire to this appeal of radicalism? This is perhaps the most vital question of our day, and I can only suggest a few lines along which we may approximate an answer. First of all, we must realize, and sympathetically, the true state of mind of labor, and this is most of all necessary for employers, the vast majority of whom even yet have

little conception of the depth and strength of the unrest, its causes, or its partial justification. Under the most favorable conditions we can never again hope for industrial peace in the world until the interests of labor and capital are identified by some form of coöperation. The reds say labor must either rule or ruin. Employees must be in a sense members of the firm, share all its prosperity, be trained to see its interests, and pass upon all its policies of which they are capable. They must also be in a position to be reasonably assured of the prime needs of life—food, raiment, shelter, recreation, intellectual activity, provision for wife and child and for accident and old age, must be able with diligence to accumulate property, and enjoy reasonable tranquillity and activity of mind. These are the irreducible minima. They are felt to be the inalienable right of every efficient human being, especially in our land of prosperity. Those who stand in the way of attainment of any of these legitimate goals are the real enemies of society. It is they who are in no small part responsible for the present industrial unrest, especially in our own land. Even Bakunin, the apostle of destruction, advised that the rankest exploiters and profiteers of labor be exempted from its vengeance when its day comes, as object lessons of what their class could do in order to enflame to a still higher pitch the just rancor against them.

Our great captains of industry should especially unite to employ experts like C. H. Parker, Ordway

Tead, Glenn Frank, John Spargo, A. Henderson, Boyd Fisher, J. R. Commons, Meyer Bloomfield, Mackenzie King, Robert Bruère, etc., of whom we most fortunately and opportunely now have increasing numbers, to work at the great centers of unrest, explore in the most sympathetic way the actual attitude and operations of the minds of radicals of high and low degree, and suggest antidotes for the morbific germs, the infection of which is now more and more widespread. In fact, the trope of antibodies is misleading, for the "reds" generally suffer from half or partial truths which need only to be made complete. Their instincts are generally sound and their feelings right, but bad leadership has given them perverted expressions which need to be corrected. It is because the mind of labor has been so neglected that it has become infected with the cheap plausibilities of anarchistic and nihilistic agitators from whose influence better information and more insight will emancipate the workman. If normal and informed, his morale is the best in the world, although it may so readily become the worst if perverted. When the red agitators cry, "Do not burn but read and answer our arguments," we should accept their challenge, which is by no means a formidable one.

Meanwhile we must not forget that labor without capital and well-trained leadership is a blind Polyphemus. We can never undo the Industrial Revolution, which created factories and mass production, radical as is the reorganization now demanded. Nor

must we forget that capital in the world as it is, despite all its outrageous abuses, is on the whole the strongest incentive to enterprise and originality, and to make the acquisition of wealth impossible would bring paralysis. If we could only make wealth, as it should always and everywhere be, a true measure of service, it would differentiate men very greatly, so that we should have the deservedly rich and poor, as God and Nature intended them to be because of their vast diversities of gifts. To take away rewards according to merit would be to fly in the face of human nature, to ignore the fact that history is largely what great men have made it, and to perpetuate the inveterate and tragic blunder of assuming that men are or even can or should be equal in anything save opportunity.

Colossal as is this task of converting capital from its predatory greed, to abolish it is the most fatuous of all iridescent dreams, and I am optimistic enough to believe that it is already beginning to see the error of its ways and to realize the need of not merely conference and compromise but, what is far better, arbitration, and that it is already well on the way to admit labor to full participation and coöperation in all its enterprises because such schemes are working so well that self-interest will impel them much farther along this line.

2. The second tenet of the "reds" everywhere is war, universal and implacable, but no longer of nations and races against each other but of class against

class within every nation and race. The proletariat must war not only against rulers and autocracies but no less, if not more so, against the rich, and perhaps most of all against the middle classes or bourgeoisie. For the "reds" the whole existing order of things is rotten. They would overthrow all governments, and close every Parliament or Congress because these are dominated by high finance which would oppress labor. In Russia radicalism has already disfranchised those who held office under the old régime, the priesthood, employers of laborers, however few; it has confiscated or "nationalized" government-owned property, estates and possessions of the rich, seized the banks, public buildings, post offices, the means of transportation and communication, church property, the press, advertising agencies, of which it makes great use, seems to have made void insurance policies, and has made inheritance impossible. The army is to be made strong, and many of its officers are elected by the soldiers. Most reds went further and believed that the dominion of labor and of the proletariat must be brought in by a revolutionary reign of terror, such as Bakunin advocated and the French Revolution partially illustrated, and which is akin to the Teutonic military policy of frightfulness and atrocities; hence the *coup* that brought the Bolsheviks into power and the massacres that followed it. "The existing order of things must be so exterminated that no germ of it remains from which it can grow again," and to this end anarchy and slaughter must usher in

the new dispensation. Not only assassination, bombs, sabotage, and executions but some believed even massacres should be a necessary first step to the great overturn throughout the world in order to bring in panic a new realization of not only the strength but the desperate purpose of the radicals. A period, then, of destruction must precede the great reconstruction, and those who will not yield must be exterminated, for only when ruthlessness has done its work upon the *beati possedentes* can an era of real peace come to the world. "Destruction is creative." The masses must launch a new curse of God, or rather of Satan, of whom Bakunin and his followers avowed themselves disciples, against the classes. Never has there been such a large proportion of the people living under any civilization who profoundly believed it a sham, a fraud, and an infamous iniquity, as now. This is not mere kurophobia or horror of authority, a fanatical passion for limitless freedom, degraded into license to do, say, and be anything without let or hindrance, but beneath all this there is often a rancor nothing less than murderous against all who hold positions of power, wealth, or influence. Envy, thus, often grows to hate, and hate may culminate in assassination.

The Decembrist revolt, which was so bloodily suppressed in 1825, was organized largely by intellectuals and embraced many from the upper classes, and down to the rise of Bolshevism, which aims to be purely proletarian, many of the best minds in Russia have advocated not only revolution but violence. But

with the fall of Kerensky and the disintegration and collapse of the army, the masses, led by the extremists, took the helm, and the moderates gave way to radicals who believed that any means were justified to accomplish their ends, and who preached the gospel of despair and revenge for the generations of awful injustice which Czarism had caused for serfs, peasants and working men.

In answer to all this we must admit that the history of Russia is a story of oppression without parallel even in the treatment of plebeians by the patricians of ancient Rome, or of the Jacquerie by the aristocrats in pre-revolutionary France. The moral is that the suffering masses may suffer much and long, but eventually they will rise in their might and the persecuted become the persecutors. The god of History simply had to wreak vengeance for such an accumulation of outrages; otherwise he would be asleep or dead, and there would be no such thing as retributive justice in the world. Thus we must, first of all, recognize that among all who love liberty and believe in justice throughout the world, there is a deep if half-unconscious trace of sympathy even with the excesses of the Russian reds. Certainly they never could have come into control without an initial program of terror, which, however, they promise to forego when their rule is secured, and this rule they seem to believe is to be so beneficent that it will in the end justify all the bloodshed and cruelty since the *coup d'état* that brought them into power. The

Muscovite temperament cannot hold theories in abeyance or cold storage but must rush them into practice. If the goal is Slavic solidarity, although the leaders claim allegiance to the future rather than to the past, they must not break with the far more idealistic revolutionists of the nineteenth century, who prepared the intellectual soil for their now purely economic and material régime, and above all they must, before anything can be finally settled, adopt a policy that will unite all classes and mitigate instead of intensify class conflicts.

3. The third trait of all reds is inter- if not anti-nationalism. To them all states are obstructions to progress. The world is their only country—that is, the world of toilers, and they anathematize patriotism and are jealous of all wars between nations as so much loss to their holy war of class against class. Wars in the past have been a great factor in uniting nationals of all social and industrial grades, and this is the basis of the falsely called pacifism of radicals. In Russia the "red" leaders can never forget that the First International (London, 1864) was aborted by the War of 1870, in which French and Germans of all classes preferred country to a denationalized cause, forgot internationalism, and followed the flag, fighting each other regardless of the bonds of class brotherhood. Still greater was the dismay of the "reds" that despite all their safeguards against it, the Second International (Paris, 1889) met the same fate in the great war of 1914. To the

red mind all wars between states and empires, which always end by making the poor poorer and the rich richer, are begun for one or both of the following ends, conquest and plunder, or else to avert class and labor war within. When internal revolution seems imminent, monarchs and their counsellors, who since the French Revolution have an almost sleepless phobia of inner revolts, declare war on each other to divert attention from evils within, and to be able to unite all classes and factions in defence against an outer foe. It was this view of wars that motivated the disgraceful peace at Brest-Litovsk, which it was hoped would divert all the energies of pugnacity back to its normal field, viz., the civil war of classes. The reds are thus jealous of all outer antagonisms and animosities. To be ruled by one or another of existing states is only a choice between evils almost equally great, for president, czar, or kaiser; congress, parliament, or duma, are equally capitalistic and are chiefly bent on enslaving labor.

Even the almost world-wide propaganda of Bolshevism, which now plays so important a rôle in their policy, is to make sure that whatever happens, there shall be no similar third debacle of internationalism. Hence the ever-recurring slogan of the Third International of March, 1919, seventy-two years after the famous manifesto of Marx and Engels, is "Workers of all lands, unite!" The task now is not reform of existing institutions but to establish a new revolutionary dictatorship of the lower classes. Hence

civil war against those in power must be declared in all lands. Special appeals are made to "colonial slaves." It is the oligarchy now in power that is held responsible for all the horror and disasters of the recent war. Any league of nations would only strengthen their strangle-hold upon the deluded people. The League is simply world capitalism organizing to subject mankind. Hence we must "transform the whole world into one coöperative community and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom." The French syndicalists are nearly right but are really outside because their aims are confined within national limits. "The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies by mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with governmental machinery in open combat." German imperialism revealed its traitorous character by its bloody deeds in Russia, and now the Entente is unmasked as a group of murderers throttling revolt by their barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the white terror of the bourgeois cannibals; incredible are the sufferings of the working classes. The interests and problems of the workers of the world, who constitute its great majority, are identical in all lands and in all industries.[1]

Many organizations in this country, as well as all others, are now seeking to infect laborers throughout

[1] *Red Radicalism.* By A. Mitchell Palmer. (Manifesto of the Communist International, adopted at Moscow, March, 1919.) Wash., Govt. Print. Office, 1919.

the world with all the rancor bred in Russia by generations of czarism. These views are covertly diffused by very astute colporteurs in India, Ireland, Egypt, and all the great colonies where natives are intelligent enough to receive them; and indeed it requires little but selfish interest to be enflamed by these crude appeals to unrest and the lust of gain and spoliation, for the "all-power-to-the-Soviet" policy has no more regard for race and language than it has for nationalism.

All in all, this is the world's most terrible object lesson of democratization gone mad, and neither publicists, statesmen, economists, nor sociologists have yet fully understood its strong and subtle appeal, realized its ever growing power, and are still less able to correct it. And no wonder, for it now preaches things hitherto undreamed in their philosophy, and our leaders might well exclaim with Hamlet, "The time is out of joint; Oh cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right." We knew the radical theories of Marx, Engels, and LaSalle but thought them subtle sophists, and at most believed the revolution they predicted far in the future, if indeed it was ever possible. But it is upon us and is the most real fact and the most pressing problem of the present.

A Senate Committee[2] report tells us that Bolshevism in this country now would mean confiscation or "nationalization" of land, including 6,361,502 farms, of which 62.1% are owned in fee by the farmers who

[2] Congressional Record, Dec. 12, 1919.

cultivate them, and also the improvements, machinery, and live stock on them to the value of nearly forty-one billion dollars (census of 1910); of 275,000 manufacturing establishments, including more than twenty-two billion dollars of invested capital, much of which is owned by small investors; of 203,432 church edifices; of forests aggregating 555,000,000 acres, with an annual product of one and one-third billion dollars; of seventeen million dwellings, of which nine million are owned in fee and five million are free from debt; of 22,896 newspapers and periodicals and their equipment; of our 31,492 banks with their eleven million depositors drawing interest from savings, and consequently belonging to the bourgeois class. There is twenty per cent. more life insurance in force in this country than in all the rest of the world, nine-tenths of which is mutual, with fifty million policies representing thirty billion dollars. This, too, would be seized, and the protection it renders would be made valueless. The abolition of 194,759 Sunday schools, with their nineteen million pupils, would take place, and church property valued at over one and one-half billion dollars would be seized. In addition nearly forty-two million members of 227,487 church organizations would be subjected to the domination of atheist dictatorship.

Not only are all owners of property beyond an amount so limited that it would include a very large portion of our citizenry (and we do not know what would happen to our *circa* nine thousand millionaires

under this régime) disfranchised, but the power to vote is so conditioned and handicapped that the Bolshevik system rests upon no very broad foundation. Those who vote do so not by parties but by trades or crafts; that is, they can elect to the local body a member of their own vocation, and with this their responsibility and influence in the state ceases. The members of this local soviet vote to elect members of the rural soviet, its members vote for the provincial, and the provincial for the All-Russian Congress. The members of the higher body, therefore, are removed at least two or three times from the voter himself. The city voters, who include for the most part workers in factories and also soldiers and sailors, are given about five times as much voting power as the peasants. For instance, if a member of the All-Russian Congress represents the city, there is one for every 25,000 votes; but if the farmers or peasants, one for 120,000. In the regional units for city dwellers there is one representative to every 5,000 voters; in the country, one to every 25,000, so that even the peasants are to this extent disfranchised. Peasants, then, who comprise the majority in Russia, have only one-fifth of the voting power of soldiers, sailors, and factory hands and city laborers, showing the deep-seated distrust in which they are held.

The All-Russian Congress is very large and unwieldy, and hence appoints a committee of two hundred members; and this committee, still further removed from the people, selects an executive commit-

tee of seventeen, called the council of the people's commissars, each member of which presides over another committee chosen by the Council, which exercises the functions of a cabinet department of the government; Lenin, *e. g.*, being chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Trotzky of that of the Army and Navy. With this hierarchy it can hardly be said that the leaders are responsible to the people, or indeed to the country, but only to a committee; and as the vast majority of people in all but six of the fifty provinces of Russia are agriculturists, in addition to the wholesale disfranchisement and reduction of food rations to those who cannot vote, such a scheme cannot be called democratic. It stands throughout for class selfishness, and kills loyalty to the country just as its property limitations kill ambition. Each delegate of the people has in view not his country or even a part of it, but his own trade, which, again, stresses selfishness. Hence the general impression of instability of the entire system.[3]

The animosity of those in power against the Church is intense.[4] They abhor the ideal of any hope beyond

[3] Isaac Don Levin: *The Russian Revolution*, N. Y., Harper, 1917. 280 pp.; Angelo S. Rappoport: *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution*, Lond., Paul, 1918. 281 pp.; F. A. Palmieri: *Theorists of the Russian Revolution*, Cath. World, Vol. 108, p. 575; Robert Hunter: *Bolshevism and the Labor Movement*, Lond., 1918. 338 pp.; Peter Graevenitz: *From Autocracy to Bolshevism*. Lond., Allen & Unwin, 1918. 128 pp.; John Spargo, *Psychology of Bolshevism*, N. Y., Harper, 1919. 150 pp.; Daniel Dorchester: *Bolshevism and Social Revolt*, N. Y., 1919. 122 pp.; C. E. Russell: *Bolshevism and the United States*, Ind., Bobbs-Merrill, 1919. 341 pp.; Catherine Breshkovsky: *Russia and the World*, N. Y., Russian Information Bur., 1919. 30 pp.; John Spargo: *Bolshevism*, N. Y., Harper, 1919. P. F. Brissenden: *The I. W. W., A Study of American Syndicalism*, N. Y., Longmans, Green, 1919. 432 pp.; E. Antonelli: *Bolshevik Russia*, N. Y., Knopf, 1920. 307 pp.

the grave as an obstacle to the realization of their communist ideal, but rather promise all good things in the Here and Now. They call religion "opium for the people," a tool of capitalist domination, and are jealous of any spiritual bond. The truest work is physical labor, and already the antagonism between the town and the country, between the well-to-do peasants and the poor day laborers, is bitter, for prosperity invites not only denunciation as an enemy of the people, but those who rise above mediocrity provoke jealousy and are in danger of spoliation for any surplus is liable to requisition. Hence the partial paralysis everywhere of productive activity in the social decomposition of this material Utopia. The real opponent of this, and perhaps just now the chief hope of Russia, is the religious movement, which began very soon after the revolution of 1917. The Church had been identified with the State, and its priests were state functionaries. Hence they were charged with devotion to the old régime, the churches were pillaged, and in one province one-tenth of the priests assassinated, often with the greatest cruelty. The church of Holy Russia is not international like Catholicism, but intensely national, and it was the first to regain its morale. This was shown in an immense assembly in the streets of Moscow in 1918 "when every individual present was there at the peril of his life." "In this vast assembly was found every

[4] See Prince Troubetzkoy's *The Bolshevist Utopia and the Religious Movement in Russia*, Hibbert Journal, Jan., 1920.

rank of society, and classes did not exist. All would lay down their lives for the faith of Russia, and this was the rebirth of the national self-consciousness," for it is religion that is bringing classes into friendly relations. When everything else went to pieces, the Church alone retained its integrity, cemented by the blood of thousands of new martyrs. The Church undertook the great national work of combating anarchy. There was no other national assembly throughout the nation, and it was profoundly felt that the safety of Russia could only be secured by spiritual regeneration. When the army was disintegrating, the Church alone dared to remind the soldier of his oath and tried to stem the shameful flight of troops, and the assassination of officers, and also fought the war of classes in the army.

The great work of the Moscow Council was to restore the patriarchal power, which has combined to an unusual degree the religious and national motives. Its members were inspired by the Patriarch, Hermogenes, who saved Russia during the anarchy after the fall of the old dynasty of the czars in the 17th century. Thus while Moscow was still bombarded, the Church drew up her answer to the fratricidal conflict, and a Patriarch was enthroned under a dome pierced by a Bolshevik shell. The new Patriarch, Tykone, a gentle soul and the very embodiment of the highest morale, proved a wonderful helmsman of the Church through the hurricane. He rose to the height of all that was required, anathematized the govern-

ment in a document which many priests were killed for reading, called the execution of the Czar a crime "without a name and with no excuse," condemned the treacheries, brigandage, and murder of those in power, and came to represent a power that stirred Russia to its depths by the grandeur of the moral forces that have been set into action under the slogan, "Christ is risen."

The soviet principle of rule by representation by different industrial groups, instead of by delegates chosen from geographical and political localities, has a vitality and possibility of development in it which statesmen reared under the present system can never begin to realize. Many tentatives the world over had prepared the way for it and have helped make its diffusion so rapid. Every form of trades unionism has brought a new sense of craft brotherhood, helped on by all trade schools and the new vocational consciousness and loyalty culminating in syndicalism. In Russia the Zemstvos, which had long given a progressively restricted form of self-government of local communities, awoke to a new activity early in the war uniting in an All-Russian Union, to first provide food and then to supply munitions to the soldiers, till all classes realized the insufficiency of the Prussianized government and its often traitorous officials which had kept the army without supplies. The soviet strove and in no small degree succeeded in becoming the heir to the spirit and tendencies of the Zemstvos. In China the gildic organizations, which

have for centuries supplemented the inefficiency of the political government, and which are largely responsible for the unique stability of Chinese society, have, especially in the student movements of that country now so dominating in their influence, developed the keenest interest in the soviet principle as something China will sooner or later profit by.

The soviet principle has in it almost unlimited possibilities, relatively few of which Bolshevism, which adapted and adopted it, has yet realized. To limit salaries or income generally is no intrinsic part but rather a perversion and arrest of it. Mankind will never for long tolerate a system which forbids the recognition of individual differences in value of services performed. The middle and even the upper classes will have little difficulty in coming to terms with it wherever it has become established, and slowly will transform the dead and low-leveling tendencies which were proclaimed as its initial radical form. It will inevitably change its character in the cultural task that confronts it of reorganizing the industries and other institutions of the world, and its radical factors are sure to be reduced. Meanwhile government by political parties, the older rival system, is everywhere showing its deficiencies. The paralysis of our Senate and chief executive has probably done most to breed a deep if yet half-unconscious distrust of our present democratic representative system. Even those most loyal to it are disturbed by a deep new anxiety not only as to its efficiency but as to its

being intrinsically the best way of effecting the rule of the people. To-day our government is less respected and less trusted than ever before in our history. Ignorance and partisan rancor have combined to make it incapable of effective action when more and greater issues than ever before are pressing for settlement, and every thoughtful man is pondering in his heart whether a group of intelligent business men and laborers would not be better trustees of the vital and ever widening interests of this country. We are trained to abhor control by "the interests" as suggestive of monopolies and trusts; but are even these worse than control by interests of parties, the platforms of which differ so little and the conflicts of which have ceased to be for principles and become almost solely for the vast and growing patronage that falls to the victor.

The danger of tyranny by kings and autocracies has gone forever, and the world is committed to democracy of some sort, which is now not only safe but triumphant. A world-wide Declaration of Independence from predatory capitalism was the psychological next step. The soviet principle asserts the inalienable right of man against the exploitation of profiteer and monopolist and the tyranny of soulless corporations. The strength and prestige of these the war has impaired in Europe so that a new balance of power between capitalism and productive labor is in process of being found, and the struggle thus involved seems likely to be more severe in this land than in any

other. Russia naturally made the first epochful effort to work out the soviet principle, but at present it seems doubtful whether it can carry it through to its logical consequences. The practical genius of Lenin began, as it needs must, with the ideal of proletarian control, for in that country labor conditions, not only in the agrarian regions but especially in the factories, were the worst possible. But the permanent exclusion of the middle and upper classes from their share of power is impossible. As the proletarian "majority" come into control, the other classes will rapidly fall into line and must be given their true place in any new order that will stand. Everything now depends on the ability of the soviet leaders to organize upward till each class has its proper place.

In fine, psychology sees one way, and one only, of setting a backfire to Bolshevism and its perversion of the soviet idea, and that is by effecting the reorganization of industry on a broad coöperative basis and giving the world an object lesson of harmony and efficiency in production, with the recognition of the primacy of the human factor, in order to substitute mutual good will for unrest and conflicts. We should rely no longer on the summary intrusion of courts, should give up the idea of transferring industrial problems to governmental bureaucracies, and still more we should avoid everything which will cause the more isolated and independent organization of laborers versus employers, for this intensifies the class con-

sciousness of both and can only result in more set crystallized forms of opposition. We should waste no time in trying to limit the worker's inalienable right to strike and to bargain collectively, and should attempt no more raids or deportations. Labor and capital must speedily abandon their long and inveterate antagonisms and unite their interests and sympathies, each recognizing the rights, functions, place, and needs of the other. Bolshevism with its crude and violent solution is already and will still more be upon us, and most of the best that has been accomplished, and yet better things which now seem possible, will be lost, and we shall sink back to a cruder and more primitive condition and the economic and social world will have to rebuild itself almost from the bottom unless we are prepared to meet this crisis. If, on the other hand, we have the morale to organize industries on the basis of a fair wage and fair profit, so that each member of a concern shall be advantaged by all, and with full identification of interests and a new consciousness of unity, Bolshevism can make no appeal, for we shall have already attained the goal which it will take it decades if not generations to reach.

The alternative the world now faces is either a new industrial peace or Bolshevism. We must change the present system or it is doomed to destruction with a long and painful period of reëvolution. At present no one is doing so much to drive the world to Bolshevism as the exploiter of labor on the one hand,

and the rabid laborite on the other. It is hard to say which is the most dangerous or inimical to society, for both are promoters of the very class war on which Bolshevism thrives. All conciliatory spirits in either camp, who really seek concord, can make concessions, can see the other side, contribute ever so little to better mutual understanding and harmonization of aims and efforts, are helping to save the world from the great relapse that now threatens it. Either we must put an end to labor unrest or Bolshevism will fan it into a world conflagration. A labor party once in control would inevitably sovietize any country. But how low and proletarian a level the reconstruction will start from must differ greatly, and would depend chiefly upon the degree of solidarity effected between employer and employees. Thus only a new high morale can save us from a radical industrial revolution. On this the course of the world's future history now chiefly depends.

Now (early in 1920) the world problem is which will reach industrial good-will in the sense of J. R. Commons first, Bolshevism or the older political capitalistic states, led now by this country. Both rivals have certain advantages easy to tab off. Labor is in the saddle with Bolshevism. The latter now has the strongest army in the world and probably also the best-disciplined, for since the Kerensky debacle and the military chaos that followed it, Trotzky has brought a wonderful and almost regenerating new morale into the army. The great majority of these

soldiers want peace and will readily return to its conditions with every prospect that the same spirit of almost military discipline will be developed in industry, war being only an emergency measure to be laid aside as soon as it has accomplished its purpose, exactly as the "terror" was. The proletariat, however, lacks brain power in just those great industrial and social transformations now in process which need brains more than they have ever been needed in the world before. But the Bolshevik leaders appreciate and are now making desperate efforts to supply this need, partly by the high salaries they are paying to experts, also by their reorganization of schools and their efforts to make education compulsory up to sixteen, by the establishment, at least on paper, of seventeen universities in place of the former seven, while many intellectuals and also not a few of the former rich and noble classes are turning to its service. Profoundly as they antagonize Capital, they not only have appropriated enormous amounts of it in Russia but are seeking almost frantically to lure foreign capital by special inducements and security to come to their aid in developing their matchless resources, although at the same time debasing the currency of the country almost beyond precedent by flooding it with ever cheaper paper which there is no intention, still less any possibility of redeeming. The soviet government has specifically renounced propaganda and left that to the Third International, which its leader, Zinoviev, declares to be its chief aim. The most active members

of the Third International are missionaries with an enthusiasm that suggests the early Jesuits. It is they that burn to preach the gospel of communism in all lands. Nowhere so much as in Russia at the present is the need for capital and credit so great, but it must everywhere be entirely subordinated to labor, and we are told that under such a system strikes will be forever impossible. The old Russian aristocracy is in many places making the best terms it can with the soviet government, and both are very often victims of profiteers, while death, disease, and lowered vitality from insufficient food and shelter are so decimating the country that Lenin says communism must kill the microbe or it will conquer communism. Bolshevism has an enormous task before it can establish order and restore the wonderfully delicate balances of the agencies of demand and supply, which, as J. M. Keynes has shown, were never so intricate between every country in Europe as before the war.

Our own task, on the other hand, just now seems harder yet, for here neither capital nor labor can subject the other and we must harmonize the two, arbitrate, and find some method of obliterating the long and bitter traditions of conflict. If soulless capital and monopoly were supreme and labor reduced to serfdom, we should have the counterpart of Bolshevism and the problem would be simplified. But this is impossible and intolerable.

CHAPTER XX

MORALE AND RELIGION

Peculiar dangers of lapse to lower levels in religion—Sympathy between Catholicism and Teutonism—In how far the former is undemocratic—The need and opportunity for a new dispensation in religion, with hints as to its probable nature.

The best and highest things are by their very nature hardest to keep at the top of their condition and are peculiarly prone to lapse to a low level. Of nothing is this quite so true as it is of religion, which without constant revival dies into the rigidity of dogma and formalism. Religion is still suspicious of science *et dona ferentes,* which it once persecuted. It is especially jealous of evolution, as if God were a hypocrite saying one thing in His inspired word which is irreconcilable with the revelation He made of Himself in the older Bible of nature. For the so-called higher criticism which shows that Scripture was itself a natural and inevitable product of man's cultural development the very large conservative wing of the Church has little but objurgations. The most liberal of all the Christian denominations still harks back to Channing, Emerson, and perhaps Parker, and in place of the earlier radical Protestantism which characterized it, tends to a mild aestheticism, and is declining because it is uneugenic and does not make good by adding proselytes to make up for its losses from race

suicide. With the casting off of old forms it lost the saving sense of reality, and lives with a touch of Narcissism in a beautiful dream-world it has made for itself. It disapproves revivals, and its seminaries have not led as they ought to have done in the advancement of liberal Christian scholarship. It clings tenaciously to the dogma of a personal objective God and individual immortality, hopes for Heaven but has allowed the doctrine of Hell, its vital counterpart, to lapse to innocuous desuetude, while even in the liberality it has so long plumed itself upon it is very often surpassed by individual leaders in other denominations commonly thought more conservative. In the genteel and charming invalidism of this originally most virile and promising movement Protestantism is without any kind of organized advance guard but is led onward toward freedom by noble volunteers and stragglers.

The most conservative or Catholic wing of Christianity is still patristic in its theology and looks to St. Thomas for its philosophy. Always more Petrine than Pauline in its spirit, it is masterly in organization, and as an institution has never, to say the least, been distinguished by love of science, and is especially hostile toward everything that savors of evolution, which it regards as the one great modern heresy. It excommunicated Spinoza once and later Loisy, and condemns all who place truth above dogma. Its marvelous genius for organization is offset by its lack of bold inventors and discoverers of new truth and original, pioneer investigators, although there are some

most striking exceptions to this general rule. Its supreme pontiff condemned modernism, proclaimed the infallibility of his office, and announced that the Holy Mother was miraculously conceived. It has always felt itself the spiritual heir to the Roman empire, and has wrought into its institutions and cults many of the best things from all the culture of antiquity, as well as of the early medieval and Christian centuries; and these it has made into one of the most marvelous social, moral, cultural, and even political structures that the world has seen, to which its leaders are sincerely proud and happy to subordinate themselves. It has thus made itself a solidarity and a power that has to be reckoned with in every great question in every country of the western world. It has produced saints who were paragons of virtue and self-effacement, that seem almost exotic and too beautiful to belong to this selfish world; while hundreds of thousands of celibates have lavished on it the love that was meant for husband, wife, and children.

It is more fecund than Protestantism and is growing faster, but its faith and cult are transcendental. It is so intent that no good thing from the past be lost that it is often blind to the present and future good. It puts theology above philosophy, and both above science. Its universe is theocentric, not anthropocentric. For it the next life conditions this, and it would fain place the Church above the State. Its political and patriotic loyalty is generous, sincere, and devoted, as was abundantly demonstrated beyond criti-

cism by the late war. But it believes in a higher allegiance and looks with almost horror upon all theories of the absolutism of the State (*e. g.*, in the sense of Hegel) or upon any which substitute the State for the Church, and of course was still more shocked by Rothé's plea that the Church should now be abolished and the State take its place. In fact, the German idea of supreme authority in the state is a transfer from Catholicism. But the Church, as Zeller long ago proved, got it from Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. The point that we would stress here is that the whole idea of a super- or metaphysical state is aristocratic, as is Catholicism. Both are products of generations of hard, conscious theorizing, and thus both are also and alike opposed to the prime postulate of democracy, viz., that state and theocracy alike were evolved unconsciously from and by the folksoul, by the tribal spirit, and in ways which Durkheim[1] has best shown.

Thus every rigid hierarchy is essentially un- or anti-democratic, and despite all the rivalry there will always remain a deep analogy and a strong sense of kinship between the Teutonic worship of the State and the Latin propensity to submit their personal lives to ecclesiastical control. Both theocracies, that of Berlin and of Rome, are anti-democratic.

Like Teutonism, too, Catholicism has its own

[1] See, too, L. T. Hobhouse: *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, N. Y., Macmillan, 1918: W. Willoughby: *Prussian Political Philosophy*, N. Y., Appleton, 1918; and H. J. Laski: *Authority in the Modern State*, New Haven, Yale U. Press, 1919.

highly evolved morale; but both are artifacts, products of a unique *Kultur,* and thus very different from those institutions which we know are the spontaneous evolution of the mind of the *demos.* As the Church holds the keys of Heaven and claims to be the only way through which God can be approached, so the absolute state bars the people from the control of government, which is administered *for* not *by* them, and the real folksoul now no longer speaks through either. One condemned Darwinism in exactly the same spirit as the other condemned Nicolai. It would be difficult to-day to say which of these two is more intolerant of heresies, although certainly it is only the State now that persecutes.

Between the extremes of Romanism and Unitarianism we have, according to a recent estimate, sixty-three sects and denominations in this country ranging from the largest, most enlightened, and beneficent down to the smallest, poorest, meanest, most superstitious, and fanatical. No human institution is so conservative of things outgrown as is religion, and nothing has done so much harm and also so much good in the world. Nothing can vitalize so many absurdities in both thought and conduct. Because its vital index is so high that it can vitalize anything, it needs incessant reformation and molting of old forms, and without this its morale can sink to a very low and formal level. It is liable to almost every form of psychic disease—lethargy, a rigidity that is almost cataleptic, stereotypy, depression and exalta-

tion, fixed ideas, arrest, with every characteristic symptom of dementia praecox, and is prone to illusions, delusions, hallucinations, etc.[2] Its proclivity to superstition and even ghost cults is just now since the war so much in evidence that in England the very church leaders have felt called on to protest. The issue we now face is whether the enhancement of religiosity that all wars, and most of all this by bringing death so near, have generated in all minds, secular and ecclesiastic, shall find expression in the widespread revival of effete superstitions, or whether we can find and make the war a point of departure for nothing less than the new, long-expected, and long-delayed third dispensation of Christianity somewhat in the sense long ago described by Renan, which would put an end once and for all to the age-long conflict between science and religion, so well described in A. D. White's monumental work on this subject as the world's greatest tragedy and waste of energy. This is perhaps the chief of all the culture problems bequeathed to us by the war.

As the culminating task of the world in all Christendom I would conclude this volume by attempting to sketch in rough outlines what this new dispensation now struggling to be born essentially is, or at least seems to be, to one psychologist. It is in general anticipatory words, the substitution everywhere of immanence for transcendence; it is a restatement of the essential old dogmas in terms of the human needs

[2] Josiah Morse: *Pathological Aspects of Religions*, 264, Worcester, Clark U. Press, 1906.

from which they sprang, or an attempt to state and meet these needs by more adequate, modern modes of thought and life. It sees a great *rapprochement* between reason and faith. It will show that what lay concealed in the latter is now beginning to stand revealed to and by the former.

1. Every religion, from the most savage to the highest, postulates the need of some kind of rebirth, and science finds this need performed in the changes involved in puberty and adolescence. Before these years each individual normally lives for himself. The young must be clothed, fed, educated, protected, but with the dawn of sex maturity comes a new instinct to serve, merge with the tribe or community,[3] and subordination of the individual to the herd. The new altruism, if not completed here, leaves man an unfinished or an arrested being. Every savage tribe has its ceremonies of initiation, and every religion believes in some kind of conversion or confirmation symbolic of Nature's regeneration at this age. Thus religion has institutionalized and formulated in its creeds and ceremonies this great change, and we know now enough about the latter to see that it is precisely its needs that all these religious forms seek to meet. Each to be a good member of society must be unselfed and subordinated to it, and in this sense the scriptural admonition that "unless a man be born again he cannot enter the Kingdom of God" is true to anthropology.

[3] See my *Adolescence*, II, chap. 13, N. Y., Appleton, 1904, which is devoted to this subject.

2. The Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit is another attempt to formulate a large group of phenomena which both psychology and psychiatry are now coming to understand as an essential need of men. The so-called adrenalin type of man perhaps best illustrates this. Most of the great work of the world has been done by man's higher powers or by those under the influence of some kind of afflatus or second-breath; and, what is far more important, we are coming to realize that these experiences, which may be truly called inspirational, are a very fundamental need, especially in the plastic, erethic stage of our physiological life. Genius in all its great productions has felt itself caught up, carried on by a power not itself which has been variously interpreted as a Muse or as a *goru,* and in the Scriptural record of the phenomena of Pentecost we have a very graphic and objective story of the way in which all great causes take hold of great souls and impel them with a momentum that has behind it the whole nisus of evolution to attack the greatest of all problems.

3. The New Testament is a love story, and its moral is that man is perfect when the greatest and best thing in him, love, is fixed upon the supremest object, viz., God. Dante idealized it, and the Freudians are showing that it is the most plastic thing in Mansoul and the most all-determining for his career. Almost anything or any act may become an erotic fetish, and the calentures of love are seen not merely in the best amorous literature but in the passionate

impulsion of mystics to be completely absorbed in the Divine nature. Very much of that which makes or mars life is due to whether man's affections grovel or climb, and no psychologist can fail to see that love of God and the *libido* have the same mechanisms, and that religious and sex normality and abnormality are very closely connected. "Love rules the camp, the court, the grove; for love is God and God is love."

4. The doctrine of sin or harmatology plays a great rôle in all theologies. Men, like races, are decadent or ascendant. The story of degeneration as presented by Nordau is a modern amplification of the patristic idea of sin. The best survive; the worst perish. This moral dualism is found in the biological history of all species, so that near the beginnings of life there is a kind of dualism and it is only the law of selection that sinners die. The evolutionary nisus is impelling the whole human race onward and upward, and while the true ideal superman is a very different thing from the medieval saint, both doctrines imply the indefinite perfectibility of men, of whose struggles the old doctrines of sin and temptation are the most ostensive of old historic illustratrations. Instances are found in all the disharmonies within the body which Metchnikoff describes, and in all the conflicts and repressions and impulsions that psychanalysis tells us of.

5. Prayer is described in the old hymn as the soul's sincere desire "uttered or unexpressed." In other words, it is a wish, the potency of which in the field

of science it was left for the Freudians to set forth. Every man strives upward and onward. He has not only the will-to-live but wants to make the most and best of himself; and to formulate our strongest desires definitely aids to their realization, just as the fervent, effectual prayer of the righteous is said to avail much. The wish, if it is strong enough, can do great things, extravagantly symbolized in the phrase "move mountains." The modes of constraining the gods to help us are really only modes of enlisting the active coöperation of our own deep unconscious nature, which is the most effective agent in bringing the fulfillment of our right wishes, for the yearning to fulfill bad wishes is prayer to the devil.

6. Confession has been a great institution in the church, and we are told that to confess is to forsake. But it has also lately become, with a slight change of terms, one of the most important of all psychotherapeutic agencies. The analyst is now the father confessor, and he knows as well as the priest does that to bring up clearly to consciousness, and especially to oral expression, a complex, an error, or a lapse is the first step toward cure. In fact, consciousness itself is extradition or objectivization, and hence comes its cathartic quality. Religion sees a very vital part, but as yet only a part of this great truth. Consciousness is attracted to anything within us that goes wrong and focuses where there is uncertainty or hesitation, and all of its projective function is simply remedial. Perhaps if we could be wound up like a

clock always to do right without choice or hesitation, as Huxley wanted to be, sin and error would vanish, and we might attain a life as perfectly fitted to our nature and needs as that, *e. g.*, of instinct in the insect world, where extremely complex life histories and social organizations seem to have been developed with perfect automatism, because these creatures we call lowly have been in the world so vastly longer than man that their adjustment to the conditions of life is more perfect.

7. Heaven and hell have served their chief function in the world by keeping alive perhaps the very most fundamental of all moral instincts, viz., justice. Nothing so goads the soul of the individual, of working classes, communities, or states, to desperation as a condition in which the bad win and the good lose the great joys of life. There is no deeper moral instinct than that which affirms that merit should meet its reward, and demerit its punishment. Man long tried to construe human experience so optimistically that a case for justice could be made out without transcending his present life, as we see, *e. g.*, in Job. But the tyrant, the extortioner, the enslaver made this view entirely impossible, so that man would have been driven to desperation if he had not found effective recourse in belief in another life in which the inequalities of this life would be compensated for. This is the psychological genesis of all forms of belief in future rewards and punishments, and indeed it was a great step in the world when the long-cherished be-

lief in ghosts was thus enlisted in the service of virtue. On this view, if all the good people in the world had always been happy in proportion to their goodness, and all the bad wretched in proportion to their evil, there could have been no belief in transcendental moral compensations.

8. Hence doctrines of immortality in its several forms. Here we have first the vulgar one of the medicine-man, the spiritists, and some of the psychic researchers, viz., belief in a subtle, material, ghost-like form that survives. This is the oldest and most crass, and the church has happily long trancended this in its more refined contemporary convictions. Again, influential immortality teaches that the effects of what men do live after them. The founders of institutions, great discoverers and reformers, soldiers who die to save liberty or country, and not only those who were anxious to survive in the memory of their friends or even the race but who are ready to give their lives for great causes in the service of which they know they will always be anonymous, are likewise animated by a desire for mundane immortality. Third comes the plasmal immortality of Weismann and eugenics, which Galton thought is to be the religion of the future. Sooner or later all of us who live to full maturity desire to pass on the torch of life to posterity, and shrink from the extinction of our line, which goes back to the amoeba. Childlessness has a tragic pathos all its own, and one of the great motives of life is to provide for the successors in our stirp. The

motives to virtue for the sake of offspring, so actively discussed just now, have great possibilities of development. True family pride always tends toward purity, and especially the scientific man now realizes that the supreme function of the soma is to contribute something, infinitesimal though it may be, to the greatest of all wealths, viz., heredity, or to the immortal germ plasm. Now, these three are the primal immortalities, and the belief in continued personal conscious existence after death is only a byproduct, or vicariate, or surrogate, or symbol of them; and we find it entirely consonant with the laws of psychanalysis that when these latter two forms are adequately developed, the selfish lust of the individual to live again after death and get all possible happiness for himself abates. Thus the theological formula of immortality has been the *locum tenens,* and one source of the rare tenacity with which it has been held is because it is so surcharged with all the symbolisms of these less egoistic forms of belief in the continuity of souls. If in addition the above motive of compensation for injustice were taken away, the lust for a future life would be a product of luxury and self-indulgence, and man would be ready and even glad to face in the end the conception of absorption into the great One and All as his supreme apocatastasis.

9. Belief in God is one of the most precious and inalienable articles of every creed but the time has now come when we must realize frankly that this su-

preme thesis must be subjectified. The Russian dramatist, Andreev, describes the objective God as a dwindling figure standing in the corner, holding a light that is burning out, and looking on the tragic history of man, even this war, with no emotion and with no attempt to influence human affairs. His theme really is not the twilight but the death of deity, and he seeks to represent thus the pallid, tenuous, and moribund faith in a deity who shapes things from without. Now the histories of religion show that nearly everything in nature has been somewhere, sometime, an object of worship—rocks, hills, heavenly bodies, clouds, the sky and sea, trees, totemic animals, and last came the anthropomorphic deities. There are really two gods, one that presides over nature, the great compelling One and All partly typified by the *numen tremendum* of Sinai, and the other a more kindly being who represents and cares chiefly for man as the crown of creation. Science worships the god of the forces and laws of nature, while the Christian god symbolized by the historic figure of Jesus, represents Mansoul in its acutest struggles and its highest aspirations. The theology of this god is, as Feuerbach long ago showed, simply anthropology, and what the Christian really worships is the good upward tendencies in the human soul in all its wonderful achievements, conscious and perhaps in some sense especially unconcious. This is the deity that created all human institutions—language, society, science, and religion itself. All

these sprang out of the great heart of humanity, and the time has now come when we must understand that the worship of every kind of objective deity is at best a refined form of idolatry. The true and living God is the developmental urge—"Some call it evolution, and others call it God." His activities of course culminate in the soul of man, the sublimest product of which is the conception of a perfect God. As the primordial urge He created man, and endowed him with a soul which enabled him to evolve the concept of a sublime creator and upholder of the universe. Feuerbach was only partially right when he would reduce theology to anthropology, because nature no less than man is God's work. He might better have said that the theology of the future is science in its largest, broadest aspect. He might have said, too, that the field of individual consciousness is too narrow to be the projection field of any adequate conception of the source of nature and of man. If we now dispense with all extradited conceptions of deity, and frankly recognize that the supreme object of worship and service is the power that in the beginning started the course of evolution and in the end became for human life the power that makes for righteousness, we shall at once not only experience a great *éclaircissement* and have a new sense of the unity of the cosmos, but we shall redeem God from the age-long suspicion that He is a hypocrite saying one thing in His works and another in His word, and shall realize that the leaves in Nature's great bible laid down in the rocks and

the essential story imperfectly expressed in our sacred Scriptures belong together, and can neither of them be understood aright without the other. Man's religious instincts will then have not only a genuine renaissance but an indefinite extension in scope, and we shall see that there is a sense in which everything is divine, and that what we call the personality of deity is simply the highest expression of anthropomorphization.

Again, all the old conceptions of any kind of *Diabolos* or a counter-realm of forces and persons over against the kingdom of God have already now been pretty well subjectivized thus, and there are very few who believe in a personal devil. But during all the ages of vivid faith in an objective God a belief in His great adversary was hardly less strong. The fact that God's counterpart has thus undergone the very inwardization we postulate, cuts the psychological taproot of our belief in an outward god whose existence was more or less bound up with that of his great antithete. Thus in the fate of *Diabolos* we see a sure prophecy that the same fate of interiorization awaits deity itself. Does anyone believe that man's conception of evil in the world has been weakened by the lapse of the belief in a malign personal agent? Has it not rather given us a deeper realization of the true nature of sin, error, degeneration, and all the agencies obstructive to real progress; and may we not confidently expect that the same process of resubjectivization would bring not at all the atheism that timid

churchmen fear but a deeper, stronger, and more effective theism?[4]

Something like the above will be the religious attitude of man's maturity if he ever reaches it. Rites, ceremonies, and creeds belong to the projicient adolescence of the race which the "harvest home" of senescent involution, if complete, always reverses. Max Müller tells us in substance that in many typical homes in the Punjab, long the heart of the classic culture of India, one often sees in the same family the grandchildren reared with implicit belief in all the gods of the most fecund of all mythologies, with their minds saturated with all the folk superstitions. These the typical parents have outgrown, revering only the great epics and a few of the superior gods henotheistically, addressing each in turn as supreme as the mood of the worshiper changes. The grandfathers have passed these and all intervening stages, regarding all deities as shadows which the soul projects in its ascending steps, intent solely on the purgation of sin and error, and looking forward with equanimity and often longing to the great absorption into the One and All which is the fate of all men, gods, and the worlds themselves. Thus all stages of religious evolution are completed in the span of a single life. This would be somewhat paralleled in the Christian world if the child passed, as it matured, from Catholicism on through liberalism to pantheism; or in the larger field of comparative religions, if he passed

[4] See my *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology*, N. Y., Doubleday, Page & Co. 1917. 2 vols.

from the crass savage fetishism on to the worship of sun, moon, stars, clouds, rocks, stones, trees, plants, animals, and finally totemized men, as the race did. Another suggestive but more remote parallel would be the postulate of Du Buy[5] that each child might with advantage be brought through first a Confucian stage, focusing on social forms and obligations as a kind of discipline in psychic attitude; then a Mohammedan period of passionate affirmation of unity in the world; then a stage of discipline by this one deity; then at adolescence, the age of dawning love, would come Christianity as the best expression of man's highest state, this to be followed by a Buddhistic discipline of soul, turning from the world with all its pomp and vanities to higher and more unincorporated things; and, finally, in old age the finished soul would feel the Brahmanic urge of depersonalization and apocatastasis.

Of course any such religious recapitulation is at present only an iridescent dream. All religions in their best and most intense, which is also their youthful stage, have merit and good in them all their own, but the great synthesis and resultant sympathy between them is something which even the scholars and pioneers in this field have not yet reached, so that any such religious curriculum as the above, if it is ever practical, is a long way off. Only the speculative philosopher Hartmann[6] long ago had the hardi-

[5] *Amer. Jour. of Relig. Psy and Edu.*, I, No. 1, 7-29, May, 1904.

[6] *Phänomenologie des sittchen Bewusstseins*, 871, Berlin, Duncker, 1879.

hood to attempt to characterize such an evolutionary history of the religious consciousness, laying down its stages somewhat as paleontology would trace the ascending orders of life, and his ambitious and premature effort is full of errors and gaps, and ends in a pessimism so extreme that it consigns to the grave every great hope of the race. If we ever have any such processional of the soul, it will be a grammar of assent and not of dissent, and these stages will follow the biological analogies of the chambered nautilus and of all spiral shells and not the rival pattern of Nature, that of painful and successive moults.

Berkeley attempted to inwardize the objective material world, and told us that the *esse* of all things external was really their *percipi*. I interpret this[7] as a mistaken transfer to the wrong field of the strong impulse of man, as he matures, to inwardize all religions and reinterpret them in terms of human nature and needs, and abjure faith in outer objectivity as the most refined form of idolatry. Berkeley felt this senescent trend, but his conservative upbringing and his clerical training made it impossible for him to apply it as he should have done to the whole dominion of faith. It was strong enough in him, however, to drive him to the more desperate venture of subjectifying the material world instead. It is in this sense that psychanalysis sees in his philosophy its classic paradigm of normal, maturing, and

[7] *The Genetic View of Berkeley's Religious Motivation*, V. 137-162, J. Rel. Psy., April, 1912.

senescent involution, the best symbol perhaps in the history of modern Western thought of the true involution which is the chief trait of psychic maturity in religion.

Meanwhile, and finally, let us not forget that the world will never be saved by creeds, forms of worship, or even by belief, but that even they are valuable or vicious solely as they improve or impair character. The final test of not only all of them but of all institutions of education and religion alike, as well as experience itself, is what they do for will, feeling, emotion, sentiment, or in a word for disposition, and how much they help in the following points:

(a) Does man find his pleasures in things he ought to? Can he face the world with joy and confidence and get real happiness out of the fundamental things of life; or is he depressed, discouraged, and prone to lose hope? How the world loves the buoyant temperament, the cheerful optimist, the man who is always near the top of his condition, who can see the good side of others, of life, and things in general! Whether in the trenches or in home life his fellowmen turn to him and dub him "good fellow," the degree *summa cum laude* which the folk confers upon its favorites. Some call it super-health or life abounding. It is simply high morale in this field. Are we educating the rising generation to find more or less pleasure in the things they ought to?

(b) Another ingredient of character and temperament is altruism shading up into love. If our schools

and creeds make men selfish instead of self-sacrificing, profiteers instead of benefactors, always on the make and getting instead of giving, they are not evolving the herd instinct on which all social institutions rest, but are undermining it. We must build inner and see that they take the place of outer restraints to both greed and lust. No life is complete that is not devoted to something above and beyond the individual, and he is not mature who has not found things he would die for as well as live for if the occasion arose. Do our cults and our culture help youth to control passion, or do they find in the very training we give them subtle excuses for self-indulgence? Do love of country, of the welfare of the community in which they live, of mankind, have their true place in their hearts? Do they learn of the joys of service? These are perhaps the supreme tests of the real value that home, school, state, or church can give or do for them.

(c) Again, man must fear aright. We have seen how potent was this basal anticipation of pain in the soldier, and it is no less a force though in a very different way in the life of the citizen. I have compiled from medical literature a table of 276 phobias or morbid fears showing man's manifold proclivities to timidity.[8] Most men have fears of poverty, many of dire need and perhaps even of hunger. How can this dread be made to be a spur to prudence and industry?

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[8] *A Synthetic Genetic Study of Fear*, Am. J. Psy., 25: 149 and 321 (1914).

All fear the loss of love or of respect, they have a horror of inferiority, and the psychanalyst seeks in his every patient for the root of every psychic disturbance in some conscious or unconscious fear. All young people need security and help here, for many if not most suffer dangerously, *c. g.*, from sex fears, and if taken in time can easily be relieved. Do we teach the rising generation to fear aright, that is, to fear most evils that are greatest, such as unhygienic habits, dishonesty, and everything degenerative, and have we forgotten that true courage is the consummate flower of morale?

(d) Anger and hate are another fundamental trait. Many lives are marred by petty irritability at trifles, and anger, as well as pity and rage, has its fetishes that are often absurd. The indignation of a great, wise, and just man is often sublime, like that of Yahveh himself. It can sweep away great and inveterate abuses and make moral revolutions. There are always wrongs and evildoers in every community that are worthy of it, and it is a craven shopman's motto to make no enemies. We should rather choose them wisely, and every man should fight some wrong with all that is in him, for peace has its wars and its victories. A fit of righteous resentment is often therapeutic, and indeed may be almost regenerative. Are we angry and do we hate aright?

The same might be said of pity and sympathy so often perverted, and the proper development of which is so basal for character and conduct. The death of

Christ is the world's masterpiece of pathos. The same is true also of ambition, of the impulse to do and be something distinctive in the world, to make the most and best of ourselves and life. It is also true of other traits illustrating how "out of the heart are the issues of life."

Every one of the ancient civilizations fell. Are man's modern attempts to domesticate himself, which we call the civilization of to-day, also self-destructive, and are the states and nations now playing their rôle on the stage of history doomed to the same fate? What is true progress, and is man really making any? With all our ever vaunted advance in discoveries and inventions, arts and sciences, are we really better men than the ancient Hittites, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, and the rest whose very languages are dead and whose gods only scholars know of? The world was never so populous, but the future belongs not to the races that are most fecund but to those which add to this a selective environment that conserves the best and eliminates the worst or least fit to survive, so that quality and not numbers alone holds its true place as a cofactor. The philanthropy and the medical arts that keep the unfit alive do not improve mankind.

Now what is the one disease that destroyed the old and will surely be the death of our civilization if we cannot find an antidote and therapy for it? It is over-individuation and its resultant egoism and selfishness. Here animal society has a great lesson for us.

There is not one instinct in any social creature from bees and ants up that does not subordinate the individual to the group. All that these creatures do from birth to death is in the interests of the community. No individual lives unto itself. The formicary and the bee state are vastly older than man and may long survive him unchanged, because for each member life is service. Hence come the stable forms in which these gregarious instincts find expression. Each social animal lives true to its type, with complete self-subordination and self-sacrifice, if need be, to it. This is true of packs of wolves, of wild sheep, horses, cattle, elephants, deer, the buffalo, lemming, pelican, seals, all creatures that build social nests, migrate, and make forays. Here we see the consummation of mutual help.

Man alone develops consciousness of self, and in him alone this has grown so hypertrophied that it has become the muse of his philosophy, and one school of psychology holds that there is nothing else in Man-soul worthy of its attention. The ancient Elohist Hebrew seers thought this a fall, from which Christianity set forth a plan of redemption, which Buddhism had sought to do in another way before. But both plans too soon became the one insistent on dogma and the other mechanized in objective rites. These two seers, one for the East and one for the West, saw more clearly than any other of the sons of men the evil and its menace, and suggested a cure that brought new hope to the world, but to most men to-

day they are *voces et praeterea nihil.* So forgotten or misunderstood are they now that their representatives bring almost as much confusion as help, and the coarser souls among them only pervert and mislead. If we cannot resurrect these seers from their elaborate entombments, we must at least try to restate the psychokinetic equivalents of their insights in modern terms and with the utmost clearness and brevity.

Man has two natures, one aboriginal, innate, instinctive, and unconscious, so that there slumber in each of us all the capacities and possibilities of the race both for good and for evil. Everything objective is good or bad as it strengthens the good or evil trends within us. A few enemies of mankind armed with all the resources of modern science could by united effort almost depopulate the world and destroy our civilization. As knowledge has augmented man's power over Nature, it has not given him a corresponding increase in his sense of responsibility. The education that gives only knowledge and skill is incomplete and superficial if it does not also reach the deeper springs of character and disposition and increase the will to help and serve others, instead of increasing, as it now too often does, only the selfish will to power. Nothing is truly learned until it sinks so deep that it affects heredity and would give to our children, even if born after we were dead, some prepotency of sound over unsound tendencies. Ability to read, write, and cipher, to excel in an occupation

or a line of culture, no matter for how many generations these facilities have been acquired, gives to offspring little or no inborn power in these directions; but diathesis, disposition, and character, as all studies of heredity indicate, do more or less strongly tend to be transmitted, and there is at least a point here which Weismannism cannot and must not pass, although we may not yet be able to segregate unit characters. Something of this kind must be true or else all progress is only a Sisyphus labor to be eternally begun and never securely achieved.

Here and here alone I would carry pragmatism to its extremest limits, and am almost ready to say that I would replace, if I could, any or all of my most cherished theoretical beliefs by almost any others, and would teach them to my children if they helped us toward the life of service illustrated by animal societies, and checked the devastating momentum of hyperindividuation and greed which has destroyed every great state in the past and which will annihilate our own civilization if we cannot check it. Just now, faster than ever before, men, parties, and interests, seem to be losing the very power of compromise, arbitration, conciliation, the readiness to submit conflicting claims to fair and impartial trbunals. In the ebb of the great wave of altruism and service which characterized the war we have now entered a period when selfishness is rampant and to an almost mad and orgiastic degree, until it seems as if nothing but a new religion could save us from disintegration.

Hence, if we can no longer expect any new advent of any *ab extra* deity, our only hope is to appeal to the great heart and soul of the race out of which came all bibles, gods, and every human institution, and which has hitherto met all great emergencies and answered all the deep prayers, wishes, and aspirations that have ever been answered in the past, and exhort all men everywhere to put and keep themselves at their best and not to act or resolve from low condition. If Mansoul is not now pregnant with some great new departure and does not therefore need the care which the world everywhere gives to those nearing parturition, then we must decline and fall. As morale is the heart of an army, so it alone can hearten us to withstand the most subtle and inveterate foe of all civilizations, viz., the degeneration that comes from selfishness.

Bolshevism is only Czarism democratized. The lower always follow and catch the spirit of the upper classes in the love and use of leisure and idleness, birth control, the love of luxury, display, fashions, forms of amusement, attitudes towards religion, lust for power—all these and more seep down from patricians to plebs. All the poor are or would fain be like the rich, and one chief ingredient of their enmity toward them is envy. Thus all classes are more intent on getting than on doing good. Each would be some kind of superman if he could, and his soul is turbulent with the spirit of unrest and even revolt because he cannot realize his own overweaning ambitions for

himself. Thus until the heart of man normally does experience a transforming new birth to altruism, there can never be a true and lasting kingdom of God, that is of man. Woman is thought to be by nature less selfish. Her day has come, and we really ought to look to her for help. But she is timid from her long subjection and cannot see and has not the courage to seize the cue or opportunity; and, moreover, she is not herself untainted by the hyperindividuation of our age. Thus the old hopes are fading one by one, the old gods are dead or dying, and their religions are in a deepening twilight. Nothing or no one can save us but ourselves. Must history forever repeat itself, nations and races rising one after another, coming to power and then declining and dying, always of the same malady, because man can find and apply no remedy to it that will make society immortal as it should be, like those instinct has evolved?

Christianity could have done it, perhaps, if it had been understood and not become crassified by dogma and rites, overinstitutionalized by organization, and supernaturalized. It saw the vanity of riches, power, and place, and brought an antidote for mundane selfishness; but it appealed to transcendental satisfactions and would pay for self-effacement in this world by individual glorification in another, faith in which is now ineffective if not moribund. Now we want to be shown that altruism pays in this life, and it will be long before we can show the world that it is here and now good policy. All the proof that it is so that the

hedonistic calculus of our ethics has yet been able to set forth seems only flimsy and tenuous casuistry to the man on the street.

Thus, again, I say the one clear call of the *Zeitgeist* to us just now is to keep ourselves in the attitude of expectation, of watchful waiting. This is not unlike the cry of the Baptist to "prepare the way," to watch and await some new dispensation or to be always ready, as Jesus would have His disciples for the coming of the Son of Man. This means in modern terms simply to get and stay at the very top of our condition, confident that out of this state only can salvation come. Every great hope has been born of a great despair, as the blackest darkness precedes dawn. If all consciousness is remedial, the new world consciousness now developing may also prove to be so. Even love, we are now told, always passes through a precocious stage when it is focused only on self, and it is arrested if it does not with growth turn away from self to focus on some other object. Must altruism forever suffer arrest in the stage of precocious dementia that has caused nations in the past to decay because checked at the stage of self-love? Love alone unselfs. Man is profoundly gregarious and can yet devote himself to causes, parties, and countless social and industrial groups. Can this self-subordination not find a larger object in service of mankind itself? Man has loved wealth because it gives power; but this power is, after all, only vulgar and material, only a symbol of a higher moral power. We use wealth self-

ishly, but its philanthropic uses give far higher satisfaction. Can we not sometime learn not only how to acquire but how to put it to its highest uses and experience the incomparable joy that comes from a giving that is not only great but wise? Perhaps some John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of the future may lead some such apostolate for the wealthy and make them sometime, as Carnegie said, "ashamed to die rich." Many of our academic and some non-academic sociologists may be Socratic midwives of a new and better future. There seems now to be a great hope for a sounder morale in them. There are clergymen who have broken with the traditions of their theological training and found ways of evading the limitations of their office, and taught the simple gospel of right between man and man now and here. There are social and uplift workers who perhaps live among the poor, and many teachers who have by their lives and their precepts touched the hearts of those they influence with this only true gospel of service.

Thus, although Pandora has opened her old box and again let loose all of its evils upon mankind, we find a new hope at the bottom, viz., personal, civic, social, industrial, and religious morale, the acme of healthfulness of body and soul. Like the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober our appeal is now from Mansoul sick to Mansoul well, and we must and will believe that this appeal will be heard.

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In place of the old commodity theory determined solely by demand and supply, and the newer machinery theory which is supported by the efficiency movement, the writer pleads for a new good-will method which shall recognize human instincts and desires, which if thwarted always make trouble. We have come out of the war the greatest industrial power in the world, and where other nations are bankrupt we are creditors. But we shall throw away all of these advantages if we cannot establish industrial good-will.

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This is a very effective book and widely read by officers, based to some extent on Le Bon's principles. The psychology of the crowd and mass is discussed, and there are excellent chapters on panic in war, and on the psychology of infantry combat. In an appendix he discusses the causes of war, which bottom on the increase of population and economic pressure, and this, to the author, shows that war is inevitable.

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Here we have the principles of Foch the Teacher which he has lived up to. The whole work is sown with references to morale, which is the force that most needs to be economized, that is regulated by intellectual discipline, that is affected by strategy. The last three chapters culminate, like all French works, in the battle itself.

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The author was at the front for a short time during the summer of 1917. The substance of this book was given in lecture courses. The first part treats of the Foundations of Morale, and includes chapters on why morale counts and how much, what is good morale, its foundations—instinct and feelings, knowledge and belief, realizing

the war, enmity, the purposes of Potsdam, the mote in our own eye, and state blindness. The second part deals with the Morale of the Fighting Man. Here are chapters on the psychology of the soldier, discipline, will, practice, command, morale-building forces, fear and its control, war and women, and the longer strains of war.

Le Courage. By Louis Huot and Paul Voivenel. Paris, Alcan, 1917. 358 pp.

This is the broadest and most comprehensive treatise on the subject, its history, literature, manifestations in war and its psychology, and sketches with great detail the inner history of a great conflict, its beginning, acme, and end. At the apex of his excitement the fighter's state is masochistic and he absolutely loses fear. There are other analogies between the erethism of war and that of sex. The author's main thesis is that courage is the triumph of the instinct of social over individual preservation. It abounds in very acute observations.

Some of the voluminous literature on *Ideal States* should be interesting reading to-day. *e. g.*, C. W. Wooldridge: *Perfecting the Earth* (Cleveland, Utopia Publ. Co., 1902); A. P. Russell: *Sub Coleum: The Sky-Built Human World* (Bost., Houghton, 1893); R. M. Chapman: *Vision of the Future* (N. Y., Metropolitan Press, 1916); O. Gregory: *Meccania, the Super-State* (Lond., 1918); E. Pataud and E. Pouget: *Syndicalism and the Coöperative Commonwealth* (Oxford, New International Publ. Co., 1913); W. D. Howells: *Through the Eye of the Needle* (N. Y., Harper, 1907); H. G. Schuette: *Athonia* or *The Original Four Hundred* (Manitowoc, Wis., Lakeside, 1911); M. I. Swift: *The Horroboos* (N. Y., Liberty Press, 1911); R. A. Cram: *Walled Towns* (Bost., Marshall, Jones, 1919); W. O. Henry: *Equitania* (Omaha, Klopp, 1914); H. G. Wells: *A Modern Utopia* (N. Y., Scribner, 1907); J. Miller: *The Making of the City Beautiful* (1894); W. Morris: *News from Nowhere* (N. Y., Longmans); I. Donnelly: *Atlantis* (N. Y., Harper, 1882); E. Bellamy: *Looking Backward* (Bost., Houghton, 1898).

On *Internationalism*, as on all these topics, there is a vast literature from which it seems invidious to seek out a few. We mention, however, W. P. Merrill: *Christian Internationalism* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1919); F. B. Sayre: *Experiments in International Administration* (N. Y., Harper, 1919); F. C. Howe: *The Only Possible Peace* (N. Y., Scribner, 1919); R. Muir: *Nationalism and Internationalism* (Lond., Constable, 1916); Rabindranath Tagore: *Nationalism* (N. Y., Macmillan, 1917).

The Physical Basis of Society. By Carl Kelsey. N. Y., Appleton, 1916. 406 pp.

See also *World Power and Evolution.* By Ellsworth Huntington. New Haven, Yale U. Press, 1919. 287 pp.

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. By J. M. Keynes. N. Y., Macmillan, 1920. 298 pp.

This much-read book disparages the Treaty as neglecting to deal with the very subtle economic questions upon the exact balance of which peace and happiness are dependent in Europe. President Wilson was an idealist insisting only upon his moral principles and quite unable to cope with the subtleties of European diplomacy. America should now cancel all debts of foreign countries to it and should lead in raising an enormous loan, which would be paid to develop European industries. The Treaty must be revised for Germany cannot possibly meet all the conditions. Keynes modernizes Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion" (1910) which insisted that the world was governed

not by political or military but by economic forces, and that no nation could ever afford to destroy the industry of another. This, Keynes says, the Treaty does for Germany.

Hier et Demain. By Gustave Le Bon. Paris, Alcan, 1918. 252 pp.

In this work the author applies his psychology of peoples and the crowd to war before and during battle, and seeks to give a practical application to his view that the force of the army is the force of collectivity, a view that underlies both his *The Psychology of Peoples* (N. Y., 1912. 216 pp.) and his *Enlignments Psychologiques de la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, 1916, 354 pp.)

The Psychology of Courage. By Herbert Gardner Lord. Boston, John W. Luce, 1918. 164 pp.

The author is a professor at Columbia University. His book deals with mechanism in man, the nature of courage, its simpler and lower forms, acquired and complex mechanism in its higher forms, courage of differing patriotisms, its ultimate foundations, training—general and special, restoration of courage when lost, shell-shock, and an epilogue on morale.

The Psychology of War. By John T. MacCurdy. London, Heinemann, 1917. 68 pp.

This treats chiefly of primitive instincts and gregariousness and its correlation with primitive instincts. The author has made very important contributions in the base hospitals to the knowledge and treatment of shell shock.

The Biology of War. By G. F. Nicolai. New York, The Century Co., 1918. 553 pp.

The author of this book, which is one of the very best the war has produced, was formerly Professor of Physiology in the University of Berlin, and suffered bitter persecution at the hand of the German government for printing his valuable work. Part I discusses the war instinct, war and the struggle for life, selection by means of war, the chosen people, how war is metamorphosed and the army transformed, the roots of patriotism, its different species, unjustifiable chauvinism, the legitimate individualism of nations, and altruism. Part II tells how war may be abolished, describes the evolution of the idea of the world as an organism and how this conception has been voiced, or rather how unsuccessful have been the attempts to express it, discusses the transformations of human judgment, and finally war and religion.

The author starts with a drastic arraignment of the ninety-three German professors who signed the famous German Manifesto of October, 1914, which prompted his book. He shows remarkable familiarity with the history of war, but the chief thesis with which his book concludes is that God is humanity, theology is anthropology, and in this way he redefines in modern form the conception first set forth by Feuerbach that all modern conceptions of God are really those of humanity ejected and projected upon the clouds. God is Man and therefore brotherhood and peace must evict war.

Motives in Economic Life (Amer. Econ. Rev. Sup., Mar., 1918); *The I. W. W.* (Atlan., Nov., 1917); *The Technique of American Industry* (Atlan., Jan., 1920). By Carleton Parker.

See also the work of his pupil, Ordway Tead: *Instincts in Industry—A Study of Working-Class Psychology* (Bost., Houghton, 1918). See, too, in the same spirit, P. S. Grant: *Fair Play for the Workers* (N. Y., Moffat, Yard, 1919); A. Henderson: *The Aims of Labor* (N. Y., Huebsch, 1919); Boyd Fisher: *Industrial Loyalty*

(Lond., Routledge, 1918); W. MacKenzie King: *Industry and Humanity* (Bost., Houghton, 1918); R. W. Bruère: *Labor and the New Nationalism* (N. Y., Harper, 1919); M. B. Reckitt and C. E. Bechofer: *The Meaning of National Guilds* (Lond., Palmer, 1918); F. C. Howe: *The Land and the Soldier* (N. Y., Scribner, 1919).

Le Combat. By General Percin. Paris, Alcan, 1914. 301 pp.

This book begins and focuses in the combat itself but describes the different kinds of fear in the various arms of the service, and in the last chapter moral forces, both material and intellectual, to the advantage of the latter.

The Psychology of Handling Men in the Army. By Joseph Peterson, M. D., and Quentin J. David. Minneapolis, The Perine Book Co. 146 pp.

The junior author has had much experience, and the book treats mainly of competition, play, team-play, leadership, principles of learning, health, discipline, and loyalty. The book was submitted to the War Department which authorized its publication.

Making a Soldier. By Major-General William A. Pew. Boston. Richard G. Badger, 1917. 220 pp.

This book consists of lectures given informally at the monthly conferences of the Training School of the Massachusetts National Guard. The chief topics treated are discipline, knowledge and ideals, interest, the struggle, habits, instincts, pugnacity, education, play, self-assertion and self-abasement, gregariousness and fear, preparedness and the militia. This is a very vigorous, stimulating, and practical book.

War According to Clausewitz. Edited, with commentary, by Major-General T. D. Pilcher. London, Cassell and Co., 1918. 257 pp.

This is a rather free translation of the first and most important work of Clausewitz, who died in 1831. It discusses the nature and theory of war, strategy in general, and finally the combat itself. It is a far broader work than Bernhardi, and while it stresses greatly what might be called the mechanics of war, it lays far more emphasis on morale than do most recent German writers.

Psychiatrie de Guerre, Etude Clinique. By A. Porot and A. Hesnard. Paris, Alcan, 1919. 315 pp.

This is a comprehensive work treating of etiological conditions, describing predispositions mobilized by the war, and with interesting characterizations of psychic differences and of temperament and responses to cure by the different races engaged in the war. The clinical section describing the psychopathic war syndromes is comprehensive and judiciously proportionate. The evolutionary forms of the chief psychoses and, lastly, cure are discussed in a very comprehensive way.

The New Social Order. By H. F. Ward. N. Y., Macmillan, 1919. 364 pp.

See also E. W. Burgess: *Function of Socialization in Social Evolution* (Chic. U. Press, 1916); Bertrand Russell: *Proposed Roads to Freedom—Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism* (N. Y., Holt, 1919); J. Mackaye: *Americanized Socialism: A Yankee View of Capitalism* (N. Y., Boni & Liveright, 1919); W. S. Myers: *Socialism and American Ideals* (Princeton U. Press, 1919); Joseph Husslein, S. J.: *The World Problem: Capital, Labor and the Church* (N. Y., Kennedy, 1919); John Leitch: *Man to Man* (N. Y., Forbes, 1919).

Just now the economic power is in the hands of the few as political power used to be, and there must be a new distribution of the former for more complete social and industrial efficiency. The test of all institutions is what they do for the people. Personality must not he sacrificed to property as it now is, or our industrial civilization will devour man. Once the struggle was for land; now it is for capital. Property must be used for peace and not for power. In a word, there must be democratic control of industry, a revolution of national finance, and surplus wealth for the common good. The author is a good representative of state socialism. The book contains the very carefully devised program of the British Labor party and an interesting comparison with Russian soviet.

THE END

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